

SOCIAL EDUCATION

CONTENTS

ECONOMIC WELFARE IN THE POSTWAR WORLD	<i>Eugene Staley</i>	197
THE INTOLERANCE OF POLITICAL DIFFERENCES IN THE UNITED STATES	<i>Chester McA. Destler</i>	201
SOME LESSONS DRAWN FROM JOHN DEWEY	<i>Alexander Breinan</i>	207
THE PLACE OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES	<i>H. O. Lathrop</i>	209
EXPLORING THE LANGUAGE OF SOCIAL STUDIES	<i>Edward J. Rutan</i>	213
THE USE OF THE QUOTATION QUESTION IN HISTORY	<i>Millicent B. Rex</i>	215
TAKING A POLL TO SURVEY SCHOOL OPINION	<i>Millicent Haines</i>	219
SELLING SOCIAL STUDIES VIA RADIO	<i>Glenda L. Liddell</i>	222
NOTES AND NEWS		225
PAMPHLETS AND GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS	<i>Leonard B. Irwin</i>	227
SIGHT AND SOUND IN SOCIAL STUDIES	<i>William H. Hartley</i>	229
BOOK REVIEWS		232
PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED		240

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Economic Welfare in the Postwar World

Eugene Staley

THE importance for ourselves and the world of what America does or does not do about postwar trade and investment—as expressed in our attitude toward the Bretton Woods proposals, toward the renewal and extension of the Trade Agreements Act which expires in June, and in our attitudes toward the measures necessary to stabilize our own economy—can hardly be exaggerated. American voters see pretty clearly the connection between the kind of political isolationism which kept us out of the League of Nations in 1920 and the chance that their sons or grandsons may lose their lives in a third world war. Do they see as clearly the connection between economic isolationism and the lives of their sons and grandsons? I do not think so. Yet there is a very definite (if somewhat indirect) connection.

In a prosperous, progressive environment of stable employment and gradually rising living standards people are likely to be optimistic and adjustable. In such a world environment it is easier to work out political settlements by compromise. If world economic conditions are unstable, however, then millions of workers find themselves unable to hold good jobs, thousands of little businesses and big businesses go to the

wall, and youngsters leaving school confront a world that offers few opportunities. In these and other ways bad economic conditions create frustrated individuals. And frustrated individuals are a fertile soil for the demagoguery of Hitlers who blame the troubles of the people on minority groups like the Jews and who preach aggression and war as the way of national salvation. Last January Hitler made a radio speech in which he tried desperately to rally the German people for a last-ditch stand. It is significant that he recalled the economic troubles which existed in Germany when he came to power—7 million unemployed, he said, and another 7 million on part time. He gave work to the unemployed—building armaments.

TARIFFS IMPERIL PEACE

ANOTHER way in which world economic policies have a definite political repercussion and thus affect America's prospects for peace and security is this: Most countries, especially the smaller ones with less diversified resources than ours, depend more directly upon imports and exports for the maintenance of their standards of living than we do. England, Denmark, Italy, Germany, Japan, Argentina, Australia, Canada, and many other countries need large imports of foodstuffs or of raw materials, or of various kinds of manufactured goods. They can get these imports only if they can pay for them in foreign currencies. To earn the means of payment they must be able to sell their own specialties abroad.

But if large potential markets like the United States are closed to other countries, either because of high tariff barriers or because of the fall in purchasing power which comes with economic

Not only American economic welfare but also our chances of stable peace depend in no small part on what we do about international trade in the postwar world. Such is the thesis of a professor in the School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, who has recently served as economic consultant for UNRRA. This paper is based upon an address delivered before the National Council for the Social Studies at Cleveland on November 24, 1944.

depression, they are unable to sell and therefore unable to buy. If the United States and other great countries are unwilling to take a large volume of imports, then there is some core of truth in the propaganda line used by the Germans and the Japanese in the thirties—namely, that in order to have “access to raw materials” they must go out and conquer territory and build empires where other countries could not exclude their exports. High import barriers are a direct incitement to aggression and empire building. There is considerable truth in the slogan, “If goods cannot cross boundaries, soldiers will.”

OUR STAKE IN THE ECONOMIC WORLD

WHY is it so important for Americans to understand these questions? Because the decisions of the American people this year and over the next few years will go far toward setting the pattern of world history for the next generation, not least in the field of world economic affairs. The United States is destined to exercise leadership, whether for good or ill, and whether Americans realize it or not, by exercising more influence than any other country on the pattern of world economic trends.

This results from two facts. One is the large size of the American economy in relation to the world economy as a whole. The other is the tendency of our economy to go through violent ups and downs, booms and depressions. If we in America can stabilize our economy at a high level of sustained prosperity—“full employment”—after the war, the outlook for prosperity throughout the world will be bright. But if we go into an economic tailspin, as in the early thirties, economic conditions throughout the world will be at best confused and chaotic and at worst disastrous. If America follows policies that encourage a large volume of two-way trade and investment, the prospect for world trade and for the gradual rise of living standards will be good, but if we should decide to maintain or increase our present high import barriers and go narrowly nationalistic, then a worldwide relapse into economic warfare methods would be practically inevitable.

How big a fraction of the world economy is this country? An index of world industrial output for the years 1925-29 showed the United States producing 40 per cent of the world total. That percentage fell during the thirties when we were in deep depression while some other countries, notably the Soviet Union and Japan, were

expanding their industrial output. During the war it has undoubtedly risen again, because the war has expanded American industrial production enormously while some of the other industrial areas have been devastated. It would probably not be far off the mark to guess that in the early postwar years American industrial output will be one-half of that of the whole world.

It has been calculated that the United States produces almost one-third of the total raw material output of the world. We have about 60 per cent of the world's stock of monetary gold. We were producing nearly 80 per cent of all the world's motor vehicles before the war and driving 82 per cent of them. We have as many telephones as all the rest of the world combined. The United States carries on more international trade in normal times than any other country except Great Britain. Also, and extremely important, the United States after the war will be the *only* very large source of available savings which may form the basis for international investment and lending to speed up the reconstruction of war-torn countries and the development of industrially backward areas.

In other words, it is fair to say that the decisions of the United States on world economic policy represent in themselves alone the decisions of *one-third to one-half of the whole economic world*. Leadership is inescapable. What folly it is in the light of these facts to take the attitude still expressed by a few of our Senators and Congressmen: “Let's wait and see what other nations are going to do on world economic questions, and then we shall decide whether we want to go along.” This is a hangover of provincialism—an attitude appropriate to a small undeveloped country out on the edge of civilization, as the United States was 100 years ago, but not to the United States of today.

Why, some people will ask, if we are such a large part of the economic world, do we not stay at home and cultivate our own garden? Why worry about foreign trade and investment? The answer is twofold. First, there is the political stake that we have in a sound, prosperous, and progressive world economy, already outlined. Second, economic cooperation with the rest of the world offers us definite advantages in facilitating our own economic progress. While America, because of its large and diversified resources, could get along better than most countries on a bare minimum of foreign trade, to do so would mean a needless sacrifice of the efficiency in production which comes from specialization and exchange

and would keep our living standards lower than they need be. And while it is theoretically possible to employ all our people on internal projects, foreign trade and investment in the postwar years can make the problem of getting 60 million jobs somewhat easier, especially in just those industries that have been most expanded by the war—namely, the industries capable of turning out locomotives, bridges, river boats, telephones, machines, and other types of equipment that will be needed in developing the productive capacities of many countries.

NEED FOR POPULAR EDUCATION

HOW well do the American people understand these things? Do they see the relation between world economic welfare and their own prospects for peace and happiness in the postwar world? Sir Norman Angell in a thought-provoking article which I recommend to every teacher of the social studies (*Saturday Review of Literature*, issue of November 18, 1944) says that ten thousand books on war and peace were published between the two world wars. But before people can learn from books they must know how to read. In Sir Norman's opinion, all the energies that we have devoted to education have not by any means wiped out economic illiteracy. How many people understand the impossibilities of collecting debts from abroad while keeping out goods from abroad? How many think that exports are good but imports are bad? How many in looking for the causes of war embark on witch-hunting instead of considering the influence of international anarchy and the problems of achieving international political and economic cooperation?

One of the great missions of the social studies teacher is to eradicate economic illiteracy. It is important to teach children. But I should like to plead that especially this year and in the next few years you teachers of social studies should not confine your efforts to the children. You are needed in community education for adults as well. You can help to lead the thinking of the American public on crucial decisions of the next few months and years. The attitude of the American public to concrete proposals coming before Congress will mean much for weal or woe throughout the lifetime of this generation and the next. We are at a crossroads, and decisions will be made. There is not time to wait until your young pupils grow up. America badly needs enlightened support now for far-sighted public policies, especially in the field of international

economic policy. In this field the issues are not clear to many people. Special interest groups can therefore have more influence than they deserve.

WHAT are the most important points that we should try to get across to the people? I suggest three: (1) If we want real economic welfare in America we must manage, in cooperation with other nations, to establish an effective collective system of security against war and make it work. (2) We must have an expanding economy both in the United States and in the world. This means maintaining a high "full employment" level of prosperity in our own country and encouraging economic development both at home and abroad. (3) We must encourage the growth of imports into the United States and adapt our economy to a large and steady volume of imports.

In an insecure world all nations are forced, even against their wishes, to practice the economics of power at the sacrifice of the economics of welfare—that is, to seek military power instead of higher living standards. In truth, the quest for power rather than the quest for welfare, lies back of most of the so-called "economic" causes of international conflict. If we want real economic welfare and a firm economic basis for peace we must manage, in cooperation with other nations, to set up an effective joint system of security against aggression. Freedom from want is closely linked to freedom from fear of attack. If our nation and others have to plan their economic policies in terms of being prepared for another great war that might come next year or in ten years or twenty years, this would mean, under modern conditions, a permanent shifting of the very goals of economic life from the quest for civilian welfare to the quest for military power. Hence the importance of international security arrangements from the economic point of view. We must prevent wars, unless we want a steady diet of guns instead of butter.

POLICIES FOR THE YEARS AHEAD

WHAT can be done in the field of postwar economic policy to make it easier for a system of joint security against aggression to succeed? How can we get the right economic climate? The main thing is to encourage economic development at home and abroad—to increase the power to produce and hence to consume. This means, concretely, that the United States, through its private businesses and its

government and through such intergovernmental agencies as the proposed Bank for Reconstruction and Development, should actively help to introduce better methods and modern equipment into the less developed regions of the world. The more people can produce, the better their living standards can be. It is in our interest to encourage a rise in living standards everywhere. The American gospel of "bigger and better," creating an expanding economy at home and abroad, should be the core of our postwar economic policy.

But many people will ask, what will this do to our future prospects for trade and to our own living standards? If China and Latin America learn to produce efficiently, won't they make their own goods instead of buying from us, and won't they compete with us in third countries or in our own home market? Experience shows just the opposite. Canada to the north, with 12 million people, buys about as much from the United States in normal times as all of Latin America to the south, with 120 million people. The reason is that Canada has more modern industry and therefore higher productivity. Higher productivity means higher incomes, higher purchasing power. Consumption rises hand-in-hand with production. Trade with developing countries will increase rather than decrease, unless political conditions are unfavorable. Countries that are improving their capacity to produce and consume will buy more, but not necessarily the same kinds of things we have sold them in the past. There will be new competition in some lines of production, new opportunities in others. It will be necessary for the older established industries of the advanced countries to keep mov-

ing ahead, to adopt new techniques, and in some cases to shift to new kinds of products if they expect to maintain their industrial leadership.

We, on our part, with profit to our people and to other peoples, plan to import much more than ever before. We can pay for the imports with exports of our own high-quality goods, especially industrial equipment goods, produced in a short work-week by high-paid American labor working with supremely good tools. The good tools and good organization enable American producers to compete successfully with all the world in those lines which are kept adapted to American skills and resources. These are the lines that should expand, and they will expand in a prosperous world. Restriction of imports by high "protective" tariffs would have the effect of keeping workers in less efficient industries and preventing the expansion of superior employment opportunities in the export lines.

WE WANT stability in the world after the war—political stability, meaning freedom from the fear of recurring wars, and economic stability, meaning steady progress instead of disastrous booms and depressions. But the only possible kind of stability in the world of tomorrow will be a dynamic stability. The problem of getting a secure economic basis for peace can be compared to riding a bicycle. If you stop moving ahead, you fall off. The best way to get a sound economic basis for peaceful welfare is, in other words, to seek not "normalcy" or the status quo but progress in living standards for our own and other peoples.

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent upon the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as men, and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger.

We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that "the only way to have a friend is to be one."

We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust—or with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding and the confidence and the courage which flow from conviction (Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Fourth Inaugural, January 20, 1945).

The Intolerance of Political Differences in the United States

Chester McA. Destler

THE discussion of political tolerance during the aftermath of a heated presidential campaign is fraught with more than ordinary hazards. Emotions are normally taut during the months that intervene between the national party conventions and the November election. Last autumn the coalescence of total war with the issue of the "Fourth Term" produced a spring tide so strong that it threatened to cut off more than one exposed headland. To attempt to interject a note of reason into this situation, tense as it was with conflicting passions, or to urge now the dangers of extreme intolerance is more apt than not to be repelled with the assertion that there are times when one should be intolerant. Behind this is the plain inference that this is such an occasion.

Some will contend that the employment of the term intolerance involves making almost inescapable value judgments. It is obvious that some definition of it must be found and agreed upon that can be applied independently of any or all sets of values. The need for such a definition is particularly great in the field of politics. Since modern states have undertaken so many positive functions, almost all social and economic questions have political implications. Well-organized interest groups of all types work either through the party system or independently to transform their aspirations into public policy. Because of these conditions intolerance developed in any one field of social action is more likely than not to find its way into politics. Hence some knowledge of the origins and nature of bigotry in collateral fields of race, class,

industrial relations, religion, and nationality is essential to an understanding of the intolerance of political differences today. Equally important is an awareness of the emotional effects of social and economic maladjustments so far as they affect the tone of public discussion. This should be coupled with sensitivity to the passions resulting from the ceaseless struggle for place and power that characterizes all governments.

Political intolerance, however, is no new phenomenon. Politics has always been the field of conflicting principles and policies of the dominant groups of society in any period when they have been free to organize in the hope of gaining control of the government. Such contests, as historians can remind us, have periodically produced passions so fierce that they have rent the state in twain. The turbulent factions of the Greek city states in the Hellenic and Hellenistic ages, the bitter conflict between Guelph and Ghibelline in the Tuscan and Lombard towns of medieval Italy, and the struggles between Whigs and Tories in eighteenth-century England all support this contention.

The political scientist, too, would discover the origins of political passions in the conflict between classes, in economic rivalries, in the opposition of local patriotism to centralizing power, in the conflict between democracy and aristocracy or aristocracy and monarchy. He would point out also the wide differences that exist between the petty factionalism of ancient city states or the aristocratic parties of pre-industrial Britain, and the rivalry of democratic parties today with their diverse sources of support and their elaborate organizations and propaganda. Such considerations would suggest that the recent past rather than more remote times will contain data the more pertinent to an understanding of the intolerance of political differences in our own age.

EXTRAVAGANCES OF PARTY POLITICS

SINCE conflict between political parties as contestants for power, or as the representatives of opposing classes, interest groups, intel-

This analysis of the factionalism and intolerance that destroys national unity and has sometimes destroyed the existence of nations is contributed by the chairman of the department of history and government at Connecticut College. Part One is concerned with factionalism in the United States; Part Two will consider deeper splits in European states.

lectual or religious traditions must be regarded as normal in all popular governments, how can the passions that this provokes be distinguished from the intolerance of political differences? Not more than half a century has elapsed since an outraged member rose in Congress to demand recognition, as "a Southerner and a Democrat," from the Speaker, only to be silenced by the cutting rejoinder that "such a condition should better be concealed than displayed." A quarter century ago a small boy in Cincinnati, Ohio, listened regularly to heated Sunday afternoon discussions on the front porch between a grandfather who maintained that no Democrat could hope to get to Heaven and a father who insisted that benighted though the Democrats might be they must be conceded at least an outside chance of admission at the pearly gates.

The extravagance with which Theodore Roosevelt denounced the Populists and the followers of William Jennings Bryan in 1896 is now almost forgotten, but "anarchist" was one of the milder terms applied to them by the supporters of William McKinley. Some students of American history will remember the diatribes of Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, who, in 1800, predicted that a Jeffersonian victory would subject the Congregationalist, mercantile rulers of New England to revolutionary outrages on a par with those committed by the Jacobins during the Reign of Terror in France.

Similar extravagances of emotion and political bias might be cited almost without limit from the history of American party battles. Are they to be accepted as valid examples of political intolerance, or are they subject to the implied qualification in Mr. Dooley's remark to Mr. Hennessy in 1912 in the midst of Theodore Roosevelt's excited "Bull Moose" campaign:

I had no idee it was so bad. I wint to bed last night thinkin' th' counthry was safe. . . . Whin I got up I had a feelin' that somethin' was burnin'; th' same as I had th' mornin' iv th' big fire. But I cudden't find annything wrong till I opened th' papers an', much to me relief, found it was not me pants but th' republic that was on fire. Yes, sir, th' republic is doomed to destrhuction again.

A moment's consideration will reject these examples as representative of the irreconcilable passions of political partisanship against which the first President warned successive generations of Americans. Extreme though these utterances were, and considerable the warmth of spirit that provoked them, they were more typical of the verbal warfare which the sensitive, excitable American has delighted in throughout a century

and a half of democratic politics. Name-calling, impugning the motives of the opposite party and its leaders, attempts to identify them with some dreaded, alien ideology, and even attacking the private morals of the presidential candidate, the social standing of his wife, if not the care of his dog, have been more or less customary tricks of the trade of party propagandists during heated elections. So have been appeals to religious prejudice, to hatred of foreigners, to national antipathies, and to the fear of economic competition from freed Negroes.

The charge that the incumbent in the White House aspires to perpetual, tyrannical power was first voiced by Franklin's grandson, Benjamin F. Bache, in the Philadelphia *Aurora* during the first decade of party rivalry under the Constitution. Resorted to repeatedly by the opposition and on occasion by the party in power, these charges and countercharges have undergone surprisingly little modification since the days of Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay.

BASIC POLITICAL INTOLERANCE

THE intolerance of political differences is of harsher, more explosive force than these recurring extravagances of American party battles. As James Madison observed in the Dutch Republic of his day, and in the city states of ancient Greece whose history he studied, political intolerance finds expression in an extreme party spirit which, when power gives the opportunity, "sacrifices to its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other citizens."

The victorious party, when so moved, has proscribed the members of the defeated opposition and confiscated their property, after the fashion of Marius and Sulla in the decadent days of the Roman Republic. It has driven them into life-long exile, such as Dante experienced because of his membership in the defeated Ghibelline party of medieval Florence. It has deprived the refugees of citizenship, and hired assassins to track them down beyond the borders of the state. Regarding the principles and policies advocated by the political minority as destructive of the government or of interests and ideals which the majority hold sacred, victorious parties moved by such intolerance have been led repeatedly to destroy political liberty itself lest it furnish the occasion by which the social order be overturned and their own power destroyed.

The defeated party, subject to such treatment, has been stirred to equal passion. Driven under-

ground, or into refuge abroad, it has plotted continually to return to power. When accomplished, this has all too frequently been accompanied by excesses equally at variance with the existence of genuinely popular government, to which the sanctity of personal rights and liberty and the privilege of organizing an opposition to the party in power are indispensable. The most notable illustration afforded by modern times of this perpetuation of dictatorial methods by the party which has overthrown the tyrant is that of the Russian Communists who replaced the Tsarist terror with a totalitarian regime whose liquidation of opposition elements was far more effective, if not more ruthless, than the policy of its predecessors.

Frequently the proscribed minority has intrigued with external enemies of the state, offering assistance even to would-be conquerors such as Philip of Macedon or the Roman Senate in return for aid in riding down domestic enemies. Similar tactics have been employed by the party in power which, completely intolerant of the policies of its opponents, has been willing to place the nation's independence and well-being in pawn to foreign aggressors in return for maintaining its own domestic position, as did the followers of Savaronola when they invited Charles VIII to Florence in the hope of strengthening themselves against the Medici.

In either case, whether that of the embittered majority or of the equally impassioned minority party, outright intolerance of political differences has led to censorship, to the suspension of civil liberties and constitutional rights, to denial of the right of agitation and even of existence to the opposition, to the substitution of arbitrary force for reason and compromise as the main-spring of political decisions. Like a malignant cancer such intolerance corrupts the flesh of popular government. It retards its growth or brings about its early *démise*. Splitting the state into irreconcilable factions, it culminates in civil war and even betrays the nation to foreign enemies rather than admit hated domestic rivals to power at home.

SO ANALYZED, the intolerance of political differences can readily be defined without subscribing by implication or otherwise to any particular creed or scale of political values. It consists simply in the unwillingness to concede to an opposing political party, to a rival political program or set of political ideals, or to their adherents, the right to exist, to entertain such

views, to agitate them, and by constitutional processes to seek to impose them on the state.

In Japan in the decade between the two World Wars this spirit was exhibited in the persistence with which the police imprisoned those harboring "dangerous thoughts," a term whose definition eventually came to include the views of all opponents of the military-fascist cliques. In Latin America the unwillingness of opposing parties of allied *patrones* and militarists to surrender power after defeat in elections has led not only to a century and a quarter of chronic revolutions and civil wars, but it has also retarded the development of popular government to such extent that democracy can hardly be said to exist there in any but a handful of states. In Central America, and apparently in the Argentine today, the readiness with which hard-pressed political factions and dictators solicit or accept foreign assistance is notorious. If it were not for the overshadowing power of the United States, which on occasion has given its own blessing to more than one dictatorial or revolutionary regime in the nations to the south, it can hardly be doubted that the intolerance of political power there would have reduced more than one country to colonial status.

In China political intolerance has defeated all efforts to organize that great territory into a genuine nation. There the triangular struggle between feudal warlords only too eager for subsidies from Japan, the nationalist Kuomintang, and the Communists has continued down until the present.

Nowhere has the grim threat to democratic nationalism inherent in the outright intolerance of political differences been more apparent in the last two decades than on the continent of Europe. Thousands of political prisoners herded, together with their families, into concentration camps; Jews and liberals hunted down by fascists, the SS, the Gestapo; the subsequent hunting down of fascists and collaborationists by the "Underground," the FFI, and democrats are the later manifestations of an old and bitter struggle between the Right and the Left. In France the years from 1932 to 1939 were marked by extremes of political intolerance that amounted to civil war, with a small but very powerful capitalist oligarchy opposed to small businessmen, anticlericals, the lesser peasantry, and the powerful confederations of workingmen. The struggle divided France, opened it to defeat, and complicates the present task of re-establishing national power and prosperity.

Similar conflicts, and intolerance, lay behind the triumph of fascism in Italy, of Franco in Spain, of communism in Russia, of nazism in Germany, and in all these cases intolerance has involved use of force, merciless liquidation of opposition parties, disregard of personal and civil liberties, suppression of ideas, and use of secret police and fifth columns.

IN THE UNITED STATES

NO SUCH situation as, for example, that which paved the way for Hitler's temporary triumph in Europe exists today in the United States. Clericalism is a cloud on the horizon smaller than a man's hand. Neither the die-hard aristocratic creed and the new doctrines of the *élite*, nor the materialistic, revolutionary Communism of the European Continent have gained any considerable foothold here. This can be safely asserted, despite the threadbare charge of "Communism" leveled by Republican orators against the White House and its supporters or the countercharge of "American Fascists" raised by Henry A. Wallace. Much of this verbiage must be charged off to the heat engendered by the recent presidential campaign. The remainder is to be credited to what appears to be a chronic misapprehension of the philosophical basis of conservatism and democratic radicalism in America. The overwhelming mass of American wage-earners adhere to the principles of private capitalism. This, and their belief that they belong to the middle class rather than to a depressed proletariat, was made perfectly clear by a *Fortune* survey of labor opinion a little over a year ago.

"Free enterprise," then, is a slogan that finds adherents among the employees as well as the managers of business. Such an attitude on the part of labor offers slight pretext indeed for an extreme reactionary movement in the United States. Instead, it can hardly be doubted that the democratic tradition has been greatly strengthened by the years of crisis in this, the oldest and greatest democracy of the Western world. Nowhere else have civil liberties and the freedom of the press been preserved to so full a degree during the present war as here. Nowhere else have the supporters of democracy been so convinced of its strength and survival value that they dared subject it to the acid test of a national election in the midst of total war. In few other democratic nations has the basic agreement of the leaders of the rival parties on the fundamentals of foreign and domestic policy been so

well demonstrated, if we are to match the speeches of Thomas E. Dewey against the implemented policies of the War President.

SIGNS OF DANGER

NEVERTHELESS, we have our own "Right" and "Left" in the United States. Although the gulf between them is less broad or deep than that of pre-war Europe, the struggle between them has been bitter and prolonged. The political controversies precipitated by the reforms of the "New Deal" and the acrimonious quarrel over the question of intervention in the war against the Axis did raise the tension of political discussion to a marked degree. There has persisted, also, among American conservatives an indiscriminating fear of Communism only less intense than that which prevailed abroad. In the United States it has led 100 per cent patriots and nervous businessmen to confuse the milder American liberals and native radicals with the proletarian extremists of Continental Europe. Popularized by the Ku Klux Klan, patriotic organizations, and political orators, this misapprehension has led many to view the relatively moderate reforms of the New Deal and the growth of the labor movement as dangerous to the American Way. The intense fears aroused in conservative quarters by such misconceptions have found expression in an intolerance of native liberals and radicals that may impair the efficient operation of the democratic system in this country if it develops much further. It presents a serious challenge to national unity as well.

The attack upon freedom of teaching in the schools and universities, the teachers' oath legislation, the attempts to oust so-called radicals from teaching positions, all furnished before Pearl Harbor an outstanding illustration of a tendency to deny constitutional liberties to the Left which resulted from this situation. The activities of the Dies Congressional Committee offer another. These culminated less than two years ago in an attempt to purge from the national civil service many patriotic liberals and a few radicals, hardly any of whom were genuine Communists. One was the son of the late Ambassador to Germany, William E. Dodd, Jr., who had been so indiscreet as to invite Harry Bridges to tea.

The war psychosis has since intensified rather than mitigated such intolerance. President James B. Conant of Harvard University publishes his inability to discover an indigenous radical tra-

dition that might furnish a needed balance in the coming conflict which he predicts between "American reactionaries" and the leftwingers whom he identifies completely with European, collectivist radicalism. Henry Luce, in a recent editorial, attempts to narrow the definition of Americanism so as to exclude organized labor and its intellectual supporters. These statements smack of the tactics of certain European patriots which have done untold damage to democratic nationalism overseas.

In addition to this there can be cited the rising anti-Semitism on the Atlantic seaboard and along the Great Lakes that must be combatted energetically if it is to be kept out of politics. The sedulously fostered "Eleanor Roosevelt Clubs" have openly sought to substitute emotion for reason in politics and race relations. The whole-souled hatred displayed by many economically advantaged, university-bred people for the crippled Harvard graduate occupying the White House has similarly indicated that antipathies in politics have risen to a dangerously high degree. So is the determination of more than one academic department in a great eastern university to admit to its staff no sympathizer with the "New Deal," as if academic freedom can long persist once political liberty is dead. The reckless, demagogic journalism of the *New York Daily News* and the *Chicago Daily Tribune* could hardly be better calculated to destroy the all-important conviction that New Dealers and Old Dealers alike cherish the great tenets of the American democratic faith, sharp though their differences have been over the mode of realizing its ideals.

BASES OF AMERICAN UNITY

ALTHOUGH far from universally prevalent among either conservatives or their liberal-radical opponents, the growing intolerance of political differences in the United States must be challenged boldly lest it promote a serious schism in public opinion in the years of reconversion and demobilization that lie ahead. Then the conflicts between small and big business, Labor and Capital, new and older industrial regions, farmers and the city will all be renewed in a world in which totalitarian Communism promises to bulk larger in prestige and political power than ever before. Failure to secure world stability and full prosperity may well result in another depression. Mass unemployment, acute industrial conflict, and the personal insecurity produced by fear of war and by hard times at

home might produce a situation in which large numbers of voters would be susceptible to the psychology of fear and the symbolism of hate as Southern white cotton farmers have been during the past decade and a half of "Dixie Demagogues." Then, as James Bryce predicted for this mid-century epoch six decades ago, would come the time of "mists and shadows" for the American Commonwealth.

To prepare for such a contingency we must examine anew the national heritage as well as the cleavage that now divides our Right and Left. In this way we can rediscover the principles that unite conservatives, moderates, and radicals in a common faith which has no full counterpart overseas. Such a process of self-examination and rediscovery can arm the American democracy against a future epoch of political hatred. The existence of a common body of political principles to which all Americans adhere is clearly indicated by the wide acclaim received last year by the greatest of American revolutionaries on the second centennial of his birth. It is suggested also by the revived interest in Thomas Paine. The ideals of liberty, equality of opportunity, political equality, the responsibility of the government to the governed, the rights of each individual to carve out for himself his station in society are the common property of the farmer, laborer, professional man, and business leader alike. Equally firm is their attachment to the freedom of the press, religious toleration, and freedom of movement and association. Few would quarrel, either, with the "Four Freedoms" which the Atlantic Charter holds out as goals for democracy today.

BASES OF AMERICAN POLITICAL CONFLICT

THE quarrel between Right and Left in this country is not over these fundamentals, nor has it been over the desirability of the private enterprise system. In the economic field it springs from the steady process of economic concentration and combination that has given a few hundred giant corporations a position of preponderant power in American business. In the social field it originates in the growing stratification of urban-industrial society, and in some regions from rural antipathy for the city. In the intellectual field it is based upon the elaboration of two competing schools of democratic thought, both of which are founded upon the liberal principles that have just been described. The opposing interests of small enterprise and big business, of farmers and industry, of labor and

employer, have supplied the basis and motivation for the continuing struggle in politics between these rival ideologies.

Conservatives since the days of John Fiske and Andrew Carnegie have justified their attempt to keep government out of business by reference to the merits of "rugged individualism." Examined more closely this is little more than a native adaptation of an international system of thought known as Social Darwinism which enjoyed such a vogue on both sides of the Atlantic at the close of the last century. A blend of evolutionary concepts with the traditions of frontier individualism, industrial capitalism, exaggerated nationalism, and surviving concepts of Hamiltonian Federalism, it has long been invoked to justify policies of laissez faire and favoritism toward business. At the same time it has been accepted by corporate managers, successful businessmen, and their admirers, as offering a philosophic justification of economic individualism, great fortunes, and even the development of monopoly. All of this has been regarded as incidental to the socially beneficial process of natural selection and survival of the fittest in the business and social worlds.

Of equal age, commanding the support of varying numbers of farmers, small businessmen, white collar and professional people as well as labor, is the school of Welfare Democracy. It reflects the fears of these elements that they are the victims of a process of concentration of wealth and economic power that threatens to debase them and to undermine the foundations of democracy in America. This system of thought advocates the expansion and utilization of the power of the democratic state. This it would use to destroy monopoly, pare down great fortunes, elevate the underprivileged through social legislation and collective bargaining, and by means of regulatory commissions control the nation's economy in the interest of a more equitable division of national income.

The "Old Guard" of the G.O.P. and the conservative Democrats have adhered to Social Darwinism and its twentieth-century elaborations as the proper mode of realizing democratic ideals. The Populists, Bryan Democrats, "Bull Moosers," Wilsonian Democrats, and New Dealers have championed an ever wider elaboration and application of Welfare Democracy. It is the conflict

between these two systems of democratic thought and policy that has furnished the central theme to American history during the past fifty years. This conflict supplies the chief domestic reason for the intolerance of political differences which the American Right displays today. Its tendency to deny constitutional liberties to radical opponents provokes an almost equally passionate reaction from the American Left whose abuse of bankers and "economic royalists" in years past did more than a little to alarm business leaders and precipitate a reactionary "witch hunt."

CHANGES now being wrought by the war in American business and psychology will undoubtedly provoke a renewal of the conflict between the champions of Social Darwinism and the apostles of Welfare Democracy. The concentration of war orders in the hands of "Big Business" and the deliberate attempts to identify anti-labor, anti-liberal attitudes with patriotism will provide the basis of another attempt of the Right to return to power. The habit of hating one's enemies will continue into the era of reconstruction. As in the past it may be diverted by clever manipulation against especial enemies at home.

Coupled with the emergence of serious problems of economic adjustment during the postwar years, and by the possible renewal of industrial conflict on a large scale, this situation would put to the test anew the American tradition of tolerating the agitation of political programs which place in jeopardy, seemingly, the interests and aspirations cherished by important groups. Yet, the great heritage of democratic principles held in common by all but the most extreme reactionaries and radicals in the United States, and the fairly even balance that now exists between Big Business, Big Labor, and Big Agriculture, between whom the balance of power is held by the independent voters and the Negroes of the North, should do much to prevent the division of the United States into utterly embittered political factions. So will the achievement of stable prosperity and national security, both within the reach of competent statesmanship. Aided by such circumstances we may work with hope to revive the spirit of reasoning tolerance which can guide us through the fogs and storms of coming years into the sunlight of a well-adjusted, harmonious democracy.

Some Lessons Drawn from John Dewey

Alexander Breinan

IF JOHN DEWEY had addressed us on the occasion of the eighty-fifth birthday which he celebrated recently, what would he have said to us as social studies teachers? Most of us struggling with the difficult problem of trying to square life in a democracy with jim-crow conditions in our armed forces, or the appeals to bigotry and racial prejudice in our recent presidential campaign, could indeed use the wisdom and encouragement of a man who gave a lifetime of thought and action to the problem of determining the true meaning of democracy and discovering ways in which our schools could promote the democratic way of life.

If he had spoken to us, Dewey would undoubtedly have again told us to keep on hammering away in our social studies classes at the idea that "democracy is a way of life" and not a "political mechanism that would work as long as citizens are reasonably faithful in performing political duties."¹ He might have reasserted that this way of life can be developed only by the "creation of personal attitudes in individual human beings so that we must get over our tendency to think that its defense can be found in any extreme means whatever, whether military or civil, if they are separated from personal attitudes so deep-seated as to constitute personal character."²

Dewey would no doubt have reiterated his faith in the potentialities of human nature as that nature is exhibited in every human being irrespective of race, color or sex, birth and family, of material or cultural wealth. This great democrat, whom most of us know either as an abstruse

philosopher concerned with *How We Think*, or as the inspiration of the progressive movement in education, would surely have warned us that mutual suspicion, fear, abuse, and hatred of the kind that characterized our nation during the presidential campaign in the months preceding November 7, 1944, stifle the democratic way of life, even in the presence of numerous civil liberties laws.

Having thus restated his concept of democracy, Dewey could have proceeded to emphasize once more the fact that "if democracy is to achieve the higher and more complete unity for every single human being, it can fulfill that destiny only by substituting economic democracy for the existing economic aristocracy."³ At the age of eighty-five, he would doubtless have implored us to carry on the fight that he has fought since he said in 1887 that democracy is not in reality what it is in name until it is industrial as well as civil and political. He would have told us to stand fast for the things he always fought for—child labor laws, old age insurance, the recognition of the legal right of labor to organize, and international organization to rid the world of militarism and war.

HAVING said all this, Dewey would tell us of our great opportunity as social studies teachers to make these ideas realities. Cautioning us against discouragement at current weaknesses in our democratic society, he would remind us that "Democracy has to be born anew every generation and education is the midwife."⁴ He would tell us that "the greatest mistake we can make about democracy is to conceive of it as something fixed in idea and fixed in outward mani-

John Dewey did not address social studies teachers on his eighty-fifth birthday, last October. Yet, as a teacher of social studies, who is also director of guidance, in the Bronx High School of Science, New York City, reminds us, John Dewey has been speaking to us for a long time.

¹ John Dewey, "Creative Democracy—The Task Before Us," *Association of American Colleges, Bulletin* 26, May, 1940, p. 199.

² *Ibid.*, p. 199.

³ John Dewey, *The Ethics of Democracy* (Ann Arbor: Andrews and Witherby, 1888), pp. 25-28.

⁴ Merle Curti, *Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York: Scribner, 1935), p. 499.

festation."⁵ For democracy to live, it must change and move. This represents a challenge to education. Our business as social studies teachers is to keep our students posted on the social forces that are at work in our complicated industrial society.

In performing this function of giving our students an understanding of the movement and direction of social forces and of social needs and the resources that may be used to satisfy them, let us be on our guard against repeating the error we made years ago, and the error that too many of us are still making, of not relating what we are studying to the everyday problems of our community. John Dewey would ask us to think back to the days when our new course in civics was a failure because we limited ourselves to teaching the structure of our government, when we should have been acquainting our students with how government is actually run, how political parties are formed, what machines are, and what gives machines and political bosses their power. To emphasize the point he would insist that "It might be worthwhile to sacrifice a little the purity of pure knowledge, to contaminate it here and there with relation to action, if we could save our country from a reaction against politics and politicians who talk and argue, but who do not know how to act competently with reference to the social problems that have to be dealt with."⁶

AND how would we as social studies teachers react to this message from John Dewey? Would we throw up our hands in discouragement as many of us were tempted to do more than

⁵ John Dewey, "Challenge of Democracy to Education," *Progressive Education*, XIV: 79, February, 1937.

⁶ *Ibid.*

once, or would we seek encouragement from recent developments that show that the years of effort of this great educator for democracy are bearing fruit? Can we say that it is a hopeless fight in the face of such developments in economic democracy as the TVA project? Should we not return to the fight with new strength when we find our recent social studies syllabi introducing their materials with such sentiments as:

The center of activities of one's life and living is not in some distant center of government but rather in one's own community. The power house for the development of these controls, so essential for effective citizenship and for purposeful work in the world, is not found primarily in any group organization far or near, but exists rather in one's own soul. The fundamental principles of democratic government are hammered out on the anvil of mutual relationships which are basically illustrated in these small primary groups in which one moves, whether in village, rural or urban centers. As the interdependency of groups in commonwealth or nation becomes clearer to the average citizen, he realizes, in an increasing degree his individual responsibility in contributing of his own resources and influence toward the general welfare. The greatest contribution of any individual citizen in meeting the needs of American democracy is not in the tax which he pays directly or indirectly but rather in the controls which have been generated in his inner self through which his character becomes a dominant influence for civic and social betterment.⁷

The answer is obvious. No one can read this last statement without feeling that John Dewey's teachings are at last being accepted, almost in his own words. And no one charged with the great responsibility that we as social studies teachers bear in this critical state of the fight for democratic way of life, can fail to say "Let's keep up the fight, John Dewey's way."

⁷ University of the State of New York, "An Approach to the Organization of a Social Studies Program for Secondary Schools," Bulletin 1, January 2, 1941.

Besides all these activities (formerly described as extra-curricular) there is, of course, a great deal of first class academic work done. And in one very important field the American public, if it wills, is given admirable opportunities for learning relevant facts about the modern external world as well as about its own past and present. No charge can be less well founded than that which holds the American school of today up to scorn for its uncritical jingoism. It is no longer true that American history is taught as a simple story of black (George III) vs. white (George Washington). A generation of critical scholarship has borne fruit in an objective and even slightly cynical treatment of the American Revolution and other great crises of American history. If the old story is still told and believed, that is not the fault of the schools. And contemporary American life is treated with the same candor (D. W. Brogan in *The American Character*. Contributed by Sydney N. Barnett).

The Place of Geography in the Social Studies

H. O. Lathrop

THE social studies attempt to give a picture of society at work, together with an understanding of how human activities were initiated and how their development has progressed. This involves a consideration of the impact of social institutions upon each other, and of institutions upon individuals and of individuals upon institutions; an understanding of the race experiences, out of which many social institutions have evolved. Finally, it also involves an understanding of the setting of the human drama in the natural environment in which a society has developed or evolved, an appreciation of the localization of cultural phenomena in the world, and a knowledge of the distribution of man and his works over the earth. The former values are the contributions of sociology, political science, economics, and history, while the latter is the specific contribution of geography.

In what has been stated and in what follows no reflection is intended upon the values and contributions of the other social studies. Their values are well understood and generally recognized. It is our thesis that equal and important values are contributed by geographical study. The picture is not complete, and a full understanding of society in action cannot be attained, without including geography's contribution.

MAN'S ADJUSTMENTS TO ENVIRONMENT

THROUGHOUT human history man has responded to the varied stimuli of the natural environment and has tended to adjust himself to that environment in somewhat the same way that plants and animals have become adjusted to their environments. Some writers have empha-

sized this relationship by referring to geography as human ecology. This puts the matter too strongly. Most geographers recognize that man's activities are resultants of many and diverse influences, that man is a free agent in making choices, and that neither his natural nor his social environmental complex is accepted blindly by him. However, the emphasis that geography places upon the importance of the natural environment as one factor in aiding man to adjust himself and in helping to shape human institutions is sound, and it must be recognized by the social scientist if the complete picture of society is to be comprehended and the causes underlying such activities are to be adequately understood.

DUAL RELATIONSHIPS OF GEOGRAPHY

SOME people are confused by the dual relationships of geography to both the natural and social science fields. This unique relationship is somewhat difficult, but various other fields of knowledge exhibit to some degree a similar relationship to two or more fields. In its end results, geography is largely a social science in its emphasis and in many of its techniques. However, because the essence of geography is a study of the interrelationships between man and his physical environment, it is necessary to have a basic understanding of the natural environmental factors. Such study is chiefly a means to an end, that end being an adequate appreciation of the natural environment as one of the basic factors making possible various human activities.

GEOGRAPHY AS A FOUNDATION SUBJECT

GEOGRAPHY is foundational for the other social studies in some of its characteristics and functions. All human action takes place somewhere, and knowledge of the natural setting is an important factor in understanding resultant activities. The stage and the stage settings are co-important with the actors as factors influencing the outcome of the performance.

Maps are used in many fields of knowledge,

This paper, by a professor of geography in the Illinois State Normal University, was presented at a joint meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies and the National Council of Geography Teachers at Cleveland on November 24, 1944.

but they are peculiarly the contribution of the geographer. He not only uses maps to develop his field, but he is the originator of maps and develops techniques in map making. In these days when maps of various portions of the world appear in the daily paper as regularly as the morning headline, their utility is appreciated as never before. Maps are not ends in themselves but a device for conveying knowledge and developing ideas. Cartography and map reading and interpretation are important contributions of the geographer. The other social studies accept the geographer's maps and the areas they portray and build their work upon them. The map becomes a tool of all the social studies, and skill in its use, reading, and interpretation becomes one of the high arts of the educated man.

Geography also gives a background of climate and weather that affect man and his activities. Further, a knowledge of topography, soils, land and water bodies, natural resources of the various lands and oceans, and similar related phases of the natural environment are basic to a proper understanding and appreciation of industry, trade, and commerce, social relationships, and similar phases of men's social and economic life.

Let us make no mistake. However valuable geography is as a foundational subject for other social studies, its real contribution is made in its own right. Knowledge of geographical relationships and the development of geographical skills, attitudes, and disciplines are educational values which will remain with the student through life. The validity of its claim for recognition of equality among the fields of knowledge must be measured by these and similar contributions.

Moreover, geography gives an overview of the world and man's place in it. It emphasizes the interrelationship of man to his natural environment and seeks causes in terms of that environment. In this capacity it acts as a liaison agent between two great fields of knowledge—the natural and the social sciences. It is concerned with the distribution of natural and social phenomena over the world. It conceives the world as made up of regions. The geographer's emphasis upon the distributional framework of society by areas, regions, and nations over the world is one of the major contributions of the science. Other social studies recognize the significance of regions in classifying and understanding social phenomena. The geographer has long been working with regions as the basis for his science. In recent years there is a growing tendency to unit or bring together these basic regional conceptions. For

example, note the recent work of an economist, Professor H. H. McCarty, whose book, *The Geographic Basis of American Economic Life*,¹ emphasizes geographic regionalism as a basic concept in economics.

SOME SPECIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS

TO WHAT factors of the natural environment does man respond or adjust himself and how do these factors manifest themselves in human activities? In the first instance, man's *place* or *location* on the earth has important social implications. By place is not meant merely the geographical position, but an interpretation of that position in terms of human actions and responses. Place location in geography has its values, but memoriter place geography has done untold damage to real geography because such empty memorization of place names has been accepted as the essence of the science. One might as well accept the memorization of all the words in the dictionary as real literature, because all the words used in literature are found in the dictionary.

Location is also important because it is a determinant of climate which, in turn, is reflected in what people eat, in what they wear, in what their occupations are, in what recreational activities they engage, in what types of architecture they develop, and in scores of other ways. Location is also important in commerce and communication. A common false saying is that man has conquered distance. He has not done this, and he never will or can. One reason why Indianapolis is not a New York is that it is not on the sea. It can never become a New York; it is too far distant from the ocean. The great commercial centers of the world are in large measure resultants of location with reference to such factors as oceans, coasts, size and productivity of hinterlands and inlands, easy connection with these lands, and similar factors of the natural environment.

Location of social phenomena to each other must be considered as coequal with location with reference to natural environment. The location of city to city, city to railroad, industry to both city and railroad, and similar locational social features are of first importance. Geography gives the global framework showing the distribution and location of these social phenomena. Almost innumerable illustrations of the social implications of location might be given, but these must suffice.

¹ New York: Harper, 1940.

Natural resources and their uses give a second excellent illustration of how a factor of the natural environment shows its potency in terms of human activities. Natural resources are usually considered as including soil, water, minerals, forests, and wild life. To these some would add climate, atmosphere, location, and perhaps others. These resources, together with their richness and location with reference to each other, furnish the basis for our material existence. Industry and commerce are possible because of them, and most of man's economic activities are based upon them. Their importance to mankind is indicated by the fact that they are and have been potent factors in causing wars. No permanent peace can exist until proper recognition is given to the possession and accessibility of these resources to all peoples and to all nations.

It may be contended that a knowledge of earth resources and their utilization is not the exclusive province of geography. That is true, but it is also true that geography is the only science that has accepted as its special province the interpretation of the importance of natural resources in terms of human activities and world interrelationship. Facts belong to any field of knowledge that uses them, but they are given meaning by the interpretation and application given to them. Geographers have cultivated this field, and most of our texts on conservation of natural resources are written by geographers. Geography has made a greater contribution to the study and understanding of the proper use and conservation of natural resources than has any other science.

A REGIONAL ILLUSTRATION

A REGIONAL illustration will give added emphasis to the thesis here set forth. Any area might be taken. It will be better if we select one outside our own country, because we can observe it more objectively. We are too close to our own country and have too many favoritisms, vested interests, and prejudices to render impartial judgment.

England is the home of an important human society, has a long history, and has had much influence upon the world. Many of our social and political institutions came from there, and a study of the history and social institutions of England is valuable because we are able to see the origins and development of many of our own institutions. This aids us in an adequate understanding of these institutions, their weaknesses and defects, as well as their strengths and values.

Such a study we all recognize as sound and logical.

But this is not the entire social picture. Unless we see the English people and their institutions in the light of and partly as an outgrowth of the security of their island home; of their location in the North Atlantic in the dooryard of Europe with accessibility by sea too much of the rest of the world; of the warm seas surrounding them; of the rich fisheries in those seas; of the mild but cloudy, drizzly but abnormally warm climate for the latitude; and of the small area of 121,000 square miles but with the rich and varied natural resources found in the islands, the picture is not complete. Geography is necessary to give a complete and adequate picture of English society at work. What is true of England is equally true of other regions over the world.

Latin America and Southeast Asia are much in the eyes of the world at present. No adequate understanding of these lands and their social, political, economic, and commercial importance is possible without a consideration of their geography. The location, climate, natural resources and their distribution, stages of industrial development, and habits and customs of the people are basic understandings, prerequisite to an intelligent appreciation of the problems, opportunities, and international significance of these areas.

GEOGRAPHY GIVES AN OVERVIEW

IF WE are to understand adequately human problems of the world, we must know something of all the peoples of the world. History gives part of that view. But the historian views present society as an outgrowth of the race experiences, and he is primarily interested in the investigation of the race experiences. Sociology also gives a partial view of a world society; but the sociologist is concerned with the study of types of societies and institutional developments over the world. He makes no attempt to study comprehensively all of the peoples of the world in their localized environments. Similar statements might be made concerning the work of the economist and the political scientist. No fault is found with the work being done by these other fields of social science. Each area investigates and cultivates what it is supposed to do. Each is doing its work well.

Geography is the only one of the social sciences that attempts to give an overview of human activities in their localized regional, natural settings all over the world. Not only does geography give

this overview, but in his investigation the geographer attempts to understand how man's activities are related to his natural environment, and how many of them are an outgrowth of that environment. He does not claim that human activities are *determined* by the natural environment but that it provides opportunities and limitations, thus setting a general framework within which man's activities may reach their fullest fruition.

DISCIPLINES

KNOWLEDGE is not valuable for itself alone. It also has value in developing a habit of thinking, in giving a viewpoint. We attribute to the mathematician a careful analytical mind; to the scientist a scientific attitude of mind; and to the specialists in the fields of literature, art, and music a fine appreciation of these cultural fields. In like manner, there is the historical viewpoint and a habit of viewing present day problems as an outgrowth of the historical past.

In the same way, there is a geographical discipline. The geographer describes man as he lives and works surrounded by both his natural and social environment. This continually inspires a spirit of inquiry, exemplified by the "why" and "how" of things. He is always in quest of the basic reasons for the localization and distribution of all human activities, and he attempts to understand them in so far as they are an outgrowth of or are related to the natural environment. This spirit of inquiry after basic causes is a most desirable mental attitude. Such research, if pursued, ultimately leads the student to a sound consideration of the elemental foundations of social phenomena. This inquiry will not always give a complete answer, but neither does the investigation in terms of relation to his cultural environment give the complete answer. We must be realists. Few people can be specialists in all the fields of history, economics, sociology, political science, and geography. For a complete understanding we must have the contributions of all the social sciences.

The geographical viewpoint or discipline is an important one, and one that is fruitful in suggesting investigations leading to better and

more basic understanding of social phenomena. This has not been sufficiently emphasized, and in the years ahead it may be considered to be equal or even superior in value to the knowledge from which it comes and into which it ever leads the investigator.

Furthermore, geography gives training in spatial thinking. Just as the physical geographer and the geologist have long recognized the physical unity of our planet, the human geographer recognizes both the physical and cultural unity of the world. He sees one world increasingly closely tied together by more rapid transportation and instant communication. He views this world framework where man lives and works as the basic framework in which all social activities take place. Man's activities and the development of interrelationships within this framework produce the social, economic, political, and international world in which we live. When fully comprehended and accepted this habit of thinking, this viewpoint, this discipline, becomes one of the basic hopes by which men may live together cooperatively. It recognizes the validity and inevitability of world interparticipation. It thus becomes fundamental to a world of friendly and peaceful nations. Without this viewpoint, it is doubtful if the world peace can ever be fully attained.

WHAT then is the place of geography in the social studies program? Its foundational character for other social studies is generally recognized and at times overemphasized to the omission of other values. Its chief service lies in its specific contribution in terms of educational values, such as the development of skills, attitudes of mind, disciplines, and viewpoints; in giving a distributional framework for classifying and understanding the social world; in completing the picture of a dynamic society which is done in part by the other social studies; and in emphasizing the interrelationships of the cultural and natural environments. Moreover, its factual contribution and regional descriptions are necessary to give an overview of society throughout the world and to understand why human society works and functions as it does.

Exploring the Language of Social Studies

Edward J. Rutan

THE teaching of almost all of the subjects included under the name of social studies has been much criticized in recent years by many persons representing practically every walk of life. The subject of history, particularly American history, has been, and still is, under fire. Other related subjects, some of which are termed social sciences, are being investigated with a view toward changing as well as adding to their content. Reports are numerous of how this college or that school has increased or modified the content of one or another social studies subject so that students will learn more about their own country and the world. The Armed Services have instituted courses in social studies. In fact, curricular revision of the social studies continues to be the order of the day. But how many of these revisions give adequate attention to the language of social studies?

It is true that many textbooks used in our educational institutions have been branded as misleading, biased, and propagandistic, while the terminology of other texts has been considered by some critics to be vague, meaningless, or even dangerous. Yet how many of these critics have been concerned with students' grasp of the language employed by the writers of the textbooks in social studies for our schools?

Certainly there are plenty of excellent textbooks that have been capably written by leaders in the various fields of social studies. Certainly too there are plenty of excellent social studies teachers who, in using these texts, are daily performing splendid jobs of teaching. But unfortunately there are textbook writers, social studies teachers, and critics of textbooks and of classroom teaching who, though they may be fully aware of the language problem involved in teach-

ing social studies, have evolved no satisfactory method of language exploration.

THE fact that any statement turns upon the way in which its separate words are taken is (or should be) common knowledge, but too often awareness of this fact does not assure its use on the part of a pupil. Supposedly "bright" pupils may shrug off the mental labor involved in this language interpretation process with an of-course-anybody-knows-that attitude, and so-called non-readers may not even be aware of this process, with the result that they give up before they start. Between these extremes the rest of the pupils follow a hit and miss process, largely because most of the members of the class lack training in how language works.

Of course, it may be argued that pupils lack background in the social studies. Teachers also lack actual experience with the world, since not many have traveled widely. Consequently, both pupils and teachers must of necessity see the world largely through words. Even with the ever-present news reels and the coming of television, words will still be necessary symbols, that must be manipulated and interpreted. An understanding of history, especially that which reaches far into the past, is developed mainly through words. Hence one of the surest ways to overcome a lack of background in social studies is to become trained in use and interpretation of words.

It is not surprising that pupils fail to understand the symbols of language employed in the subjects of social studies when a writer as eminent as Stuart Chase, in his *Tyranny of Words*, suggests that when we meet a word for which we can find no referant we should disregard it, or call it a "blah-word." According to this, it would seem that Mr. Chase would have us adopt a practice that pupils have been using for years. Most pupils need no encouragement to "hop over" words, whether they are "blah-terms" or not. Far too many teachers who have, shall we say, "misinterpreted" Mr. Chase and his followers, have

This article, bearing directly on processes of straight thinking and critical thinking, is contributed by a teacher of English in Memorial High School, Millville, New Jersey.

founded their lessons upon the "quiz-kid" concept of education—if it is in the encyclopedia, it is so, and that's that! Consequently, along with the cult of the various speed-reading techniques that invaded our institutions of learning during the past decade the "skimming" process has been rapid but the learning little.

The tendency to treat meaning as a property of individual words, out of context, has done more harm, however, than that caused by any of the "faddists." No doubt this is one of the causes for so many of the differences and disputes about those terms in social studies that end with "ism." Certainly many of these terms are and should be controversial, but not on a strict "name-calling" basis! Even if the spelling of the word does not change, what it refers to may change, and often does. To think that a word "always means the same," as some pupils, and even teachers, proudly point out, is both unthinking and dangerous.

Take the word "capital," for example, and explore it like this:

"America" always starts with a *capital*.
The youth committed a *capital* offense.
It is the *capital* city of that country.
They say the food here is *capital*.
He learned to make *capital* of his opportunities.
I believe in cooperation of *capital* and labor.

Such exploration could be continued, but these six sentences will suffice to show that meaning is not a property of words in isolation, but of words in cooperation with one another. Whoever becomes aware of this fact may attain a new thoughtfulness and carefulness about words, lasting, if he so desires, for the rest of his days.

No word in the language of social studies should be taken in the same way twice but rather in the sense in which it is used. No word should be regarded as meaningless, unless that is what is intended. Above all, "ism" words and other generalized terms should be regarded with a questioning attitude of mind, rather than dismissed as just plain "blah." Even though nothing tangible exists to which a word may refer, it is still possible to regard it, for the moment, as if it were true, in order to understand it. Only after the

deliberation that leads to understanding, only after taking everything relevant into account, can a judgment be made as to the "blah-ness" of a word.

PRACTICE can be provided in identifying and distinguishing different meanings. Take, for example, the different usages of "capital," just cited. Or try exercises like the following:

Point out the differences, if you can, in the meaning of the following groups of words or phrases:

1. (a) king; (b) president; (c) dictator.
2. (a) the Magna Charta; (b) the Monroe Doctrine; (c) the Atlantic Charter.
3. (a) a policy of imperialism; (b) a policy of laissez-faire; (c) a policy of neutrality.
4. (a) geography; (b) geopolitics; (c) geology.

What does the italicized word mean in each sentence?

1. Lincoln was a real *democrat*.
2. Jones is a real *Democrat*.
1. A considerable measure of *economy* is necessary.
2. She believes in an *economy* of abundance.
1. That is *Red Brown*!
2. That man is a *Red*!

1. It is only Axis *propaganda*.
2. *Propaganda* is needed for morale.

What are the ideas behind the following items?

1. Democracy
2. The Four Freedoms
3. A traitorous saboteur!
4. We are living in the new Dark Ages.
5. This century was not just an age of science, or a period of aviation, or a time of transition, but a combination of all of these, plus conflicting attitudes of mind that brought about a global social revolution.

The surest way of arriving at the meaning of any statement is by comparing two or more interpretations of it. In this way pupils can come to a clearer understanding of not only what they read but of whatever they discuss in or outside their social studies classrooms. Hence, by exploring the language of social studies, our pupils can see better our country and the world, through words. Then they will be able better to use what they have learned because they will be able to communicate more meaningfully with others.

The Use of the Quotation Question in History

Millicent B. Rex

THE "quotation question" has long been part of the history teacher's equipment, and in some quarters it has grown in popularity with the years. In college classes especially it has an established place. While it made its appearance on the older type of College Board examination only occasionally, and then in some of its simpler forms, on the new "Comprehensives" instituted just before the war, and soon suspended, it was emphasized as never before.

The quotation question has a very definite and important place in the experience of any student taking history in secondary school. It is recognized, of course, that this experience cannot be provided satisfactorily for students of very limited mental ability or for large classes where the teacher finds it impossible to read the students' papers with sufficiently careful attention. But for those who can use it, the procedure involved has great value, not only as an examining device, but even more—in the light of final results—as a teaching process.

IN CONSIDERING the quotation question, it soon becomes evident that it has various forms, which range from a demand for an interpretation of some direct general statement to an analysis of a long and involved extract from an original source. An example of the simple statement would be such a question as

"The Romans practiced religious toleration." Discuss the truth or falsity of this statement mentioning and explaining any notable instances in which it was not true (June 1921).

This called for a reaction not unlike that involved in explaining the errors of the false sentences in a true-false series, except that instead of being straightforward and concise, the answers

in this case were presumably to be in considerable detail.

A more advanced version of the simple statement may be found in the following examples, both taken from College Board examinations:

In what degree are the following lines of Alexander Pope justified?

"Nature and nature's laws lay hid in night.

God said, 'Let Newton be,' and all was light."

The second requested explanation of the statement "Greece, though conquered, led conquering Rome a captive." These two questions have the double value of stating an important generalization about a given period, and stating it in contemporary terms. Thus the question has a special value for teaching as well as for testing.

Some quotations of the general statement type that I have used to good advantage demand still more involved and sweeping answers. One asks:

In a discussion of dictatorship, the following statement was made: "Dictators are champions of the status quo, reactionaries, reformers in haste, . . . or merely egotists bent on power and prestige." Apply this definition to the last hundred years of the Roman Republic, giving specific examples with appropriate details.

This sounds quite formidable at first, but as it turned out, most students were well able to handle it. Another such question was more specific, and the class had no great difficulty in recognizing the situations alluded to:

"The parallelism between the histories of the two nations, at an interval of a century and a half, was indeed striking. In both a legitimate king was beheaded and a military leader rose to supreme power; in both the old line was restored and a first king, good-natured and sceptical, managed to die peacefully on the throne; in both the bigotry of a second king determined a crisis, which led to the setting aside of an incorrigible race (of monarchs). All this seemed to call for the last term of the evolution: the substitution of a new branch of the royal family, whose power would be indubitably of constitutional origin."

Much more terrifying was a question which is still fondly remembered and repeated by Vassar alumnae. It consisted of an order to interpret the Biblical text, "The stars in their courses are

This article extends a series in which a variety of testing and evaluation procedures have been considered. The author is head of the history department in the Madeira School, Greenway, Virginia.

fighting against thee, Sisera," in terms of Napoleonic history. And this was all there was to the examination!

IN CONTRAST to this, and to the other sample questions given above, is an entirely different form of quotation question—the kind that corresponds to what are generally called "spot questions" in literature examinations—where characteristic or famous passages from the works of various authors are presented purely for identification. In history questions of this kind, the identification sometimes may consist of naming a general school of political, religious, or economic thought instead of an individual document or writer. The old College Boards had many such excerpts that were to be recognized as coming from the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, etc. Likewise, for example, students of modern history should discover three familiar Marxian doctrines in the following:

"When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character."

This kind of "spot" question tends in the end to be much more of a purely factual activity than the other types of quotation questions here described, although, to be sure, it does test the student's ability to grasp ideas and recognize them in what is often new language. Yet unless some account is required of the life, works, political views, and general background of the writers of the excerpts, with especial relation to the sense of the particular quotation cited, the lengthy "spot" question often seems scarcely worth the space it takes.

THE quotation question *par excellence* is that in which a rather extended passage is set forth, generally from a present-day speech or from an original historical source. Here more than a single idea is involved and a rather careful analysis is necessary. One of the best examples of this type that has come to my attention appeared on the combined English and American History Comprehensive Examination of June, 1939, containing an extract from a contemporary speech, beginning "We Anglo-Saxons." This called upon the student to range over the widest reaches of his knowledge and apply it to the given data with discrimination and penetration. The discussion of this examination that was presented in the October, 1939, number of *Social*

Education includes some sample answers showing how the students reacted to this challenge.

Two questions of my own that I have found to work out rather satisfactorily are also of this same general category. One was based on the speeches made by Lord Lothian and Mr. McLeish at the time of depositing the Magna Carta in the Library of Congress; the other, upon a memorandum of Lord Burleigh's regarding foreign policy. The latter follows in its entirety:

The following advice was given by a Minister to his Sovereign: "the second point of . . . my discourse is, the consideration of your foreign enemies, which may prove either able or willing to hurt you; and those are Scotland, for [its] pretence [pretensions] and neighborhood [nearness]; and Spain, for its religion and power; As for France, I see not why he should not rather be made a friend than an enemy for, though he agree not with your Majesty in matters of conscience and religion, yet—he doth agree, that he feareth the greatness of Spain; and therefore . . . may . . . hope to secure himself against so potent an adversary."

Who was the sovereign so advised, and on what grounds do you base your decision? What important factors in England's foreign policy are here alluded to?

Here a student might fail to place these data in the reign of Elizabeth, but if he showed a knowledge of the balance of power theory and of the nature of diplomacy in the age of monarchy and religious controversy, he might still acquit himself with credit in answering this question.

My first experiment with quotations of this kind proved impracticable for use on a formal examination because of the extensive length of the quotations—they consisted of extracts from Pepys' *Diary* and from Aristophanes' *Acharnians*—but even so the results were surprisingly good. Since then I have frequently used both quotations as class exercises—or as daily preparation or for an impromptu quiz.

In the case of the *Diary* the students were first asked to place it as to the probable period in which it was written. They had barely reached Charles II's reign and had not yet been introduced to Pepys, so that "spot" recognition was supposed to be out of the question, but various allusions to royal power, foreign affairs, religious conflicts, etc., were included, which might be taken to indicate various Tudor reigns as well as those of the early Stuarts. A careful consideration of the whole set of facts, however, in their total combination, could only point to Charles II. In case the students failed to discover this, credit was nevertheless given if their conclusions were reasonable and their points well taken.

Other questions based on the Pepys extracts include such queries as: "How do you know this

document was written in the modern period and not in the Middle Ages? What do you judge the religious views of the writer to have been?" Pepys' waverings make this a little obscure, but a surprising number of sharp-eyed students discover his Anglicanism to be somewhat tinged with a Puritanical cast. "What social class do you take him to belong to?" The simple-minded place him immediately among the nobility because of his wealth and associations, but the more astute put him down promptly as a climber and point out that his status was characteristic of the rise of the middle class.

TEACHING VALUES

FROM these samples it can be seen that this quotation covered a good deal of ground, making calls on the students from several points of view. It provided a glance backward at the main characteristics differentiating the medieval and modern ages; it involved some demonstration of an understanding of various religious and social aspects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and it forced the student to ransack his mind for facts in the fields of politics, war, diplomacy, religion, and literature, ranging over the whole early modern period of English history. Consideration of these demands and the students' reactions will show how a quotation question of this kind tends to develop a whole complex of skills and attitudes all necessary to the equipment of a well-trained history student. Seen from this point of view, the quotation question has, as a matter of fact, even more value as a teaching device than as a testing medium.

The first of the skills to be thus brought out is one that is almost too obvious to mention, but it is one that every history teacher will recognize as fundamental and only too often lacking—the ability to read new material with ready understanding. A second quality to be developed, more truly historical in its province, is keenness of observation. In these extracts, the clue often lies in a phrase, an odd fact, an obscure name, a general idea. Only students trained to look for these straws in the wind can put two and two together and come out with a more or less reasonable answer.

Of course, intelligent reading and keen observation will be of no avail without a sound body of fact to which the new material can be related. Here is where the quotation question approaches the old direct discussion question. To many an indignant student, baffled by trying to interpret such a passage as:

Thus Athens, though still in name a democracy, was ruled by her greatest citizen,

I have explained that after all it was just another way of saying,

Describe the government of Athens in the Fourth Century and the part played by Pericles in that government.

The students, I may say, are never quite convinced that such a question is just the same as a straightforward fact question, but they speedily come to see that it is nevertheless a real test of their knowledge of fact, however indirectly come at.

The final and crowning skill developed by the quotation question—after comprehension, observation and analysis, and relation to known facts are achieved—yields some kind of synthesis—the putting together of what is already known with what has been discovered in the quotation, so as to produce a conclusive judgment, supported by reason and expressed in good form. Here we reach the real test of the student's capacities. The whole tone of the answer at this stage is highly significant. A mere paraphrase must be avoided, and while supporting facts must be presented, they must never be spread about for their own sake, but constantly related to the sense of the quotation. The confused and the ignorant write childishly and blindly; the penetrating and the able explain their doubts and conjectures in illuminating fashion as they assert their knowledge and their certainties.

AS EXAMPLES of the critical approach characteristic of the better grade of papers, I will cite some answers to a question in ancient history calling for an analysis of the Biblical passage beginning, "By the rivers of Babylon." After explaining the historical events alluded to, conjectures as to the authorship of the excerpt were hazarded. "This might be Jeremiah," said one student. "It might also possibly be Second Isaiah, but I don't think so because he came at the time of the Restoration and had a more hopeful style." "Second Isaiah was the profit [sic] during the time of the Captivity," wrote another. "However this extract . . . does not seem to have been written by him as he preached of comfort, peace, and the hope of restoration. . . . This is more likely a lamentation. Jeremiah was known as the melancholy prophet . . . however, he fled to Egypt"—here she infers, but does not state, that this might preclude his writing a lament set in Babylon. Another student picked up the phrase, "Who art to be destroyed," and carried it forward to a his-

torical event omitted by most of the answers: "It sounds like a reference to the fact that this prophet foresaw the capture of Chaldea by Persia." All of these students were alert to significant details, and thoughtful and scholarly in their approach. In such tests as these, the merely clever learner is generally readily distinguished from the really superior student, and often the potentialities of the untrained but naturally understanding student are discovered, as they might not be in more stereotyped fact questions.

PREPARATION for dealing with such questions should include some rather careful study of original sources, sometimes as a class exercise, sometimes as part of the daily assignments. In ancient history, for example, we might have read Hammurabi's Code in the light of a series of leading questions designed to develop the technique of analysis, or we might have compared the Biblical account of the Flood with that given in the cuneiform sources. Or, in English history, the first quotation quiz would come after reading the Benedictine Rule or the Magna Carta—such reading always accompanied by rather searching questions.

Through activities of this kind, the processes of reading, observation, analysis, and synthesis are made somewhat familiar to the students. But of course, when each student for himself is forced to carry the whole thing through for the first time without the benefit of comments by the teacher and the rest of the class, the undertaking does undoubtedly seem forbidding.

After students get used to the idea, though they never quite get over their dread of the demands that the quotation question puts upon them, they become reconciled to it, and are often even fascinated by the fact that it presents a kind of puzzle. When a test is over they run to compare notes to see what deductions other students have made, and they are always eager to get back their corrected papers to see which conclusions were considered best.

GRADING AND EVALUATION

EVALUATING the answers on these tests is not easy. The teacher must put himself in the place of the student, allowing for the student's limited body of knowledge and not ex-

pecting anything more to be read into the quotation than the content of the course would provide. I believe that with such a relatively complicated type of question that it is desirable to err on the side of leniency. In many cases a tentative answer, or the presentation of two possible interpretations, or an erroneous though not unreasonable conclusion, may seem as justifiable as the answer that was originally expected. The students find this treatment disturbing at first, but they gain confidence in attacking dubious material and begin to appreciate the value of reserving judgment—a by-product especially well worth while.

The more intelligent students ultimately see that the total effect of this kind of experience is to increase their capacities. One girl last year said that this training had been of more help to her in learning to think carefully and flexibly than anything she had ever done in history—or perhaps in any subject! "It's like a geometry proposition. You are given something and then with your knowledge of past theorems you work through to a new conclusion."

But, of course, from the teacher's point of view, the quotation question has many more pitfalls than the geometry proposition. The one that presents itself first is the difficulty of finding suitable extracts—ones that are not too revealing or too obvious, too confusing as to period or so obvious that there is nothing left for the student to explain. A badly chosen extract defeats its purpose.

Poor quotation questions may promote mere guessing contests, and in the case of the glib and headlong student nothing is more fatal than for him to be allowed to jump to conclusions on the basis of insufficient evidence. For him especially, but indeed for all the class, the fragmentary character of the mere extract must be pointed out, so that students will realize that what is an acceptable answer on a single test may not always be an adequate judgment when placed against the full range of historical knowledge.

Despite all the difficulties in handling the quotation question, it is a fascinating business. Browning in the sources in search of teachable material, or watching the students catch on and grow in power—both alike are interesting and rewarding experiences. And even the test papers, I may add, are less dull to read than the more usual kind.

Taking a Poll to Survey School Opinion

Millicent Haines

PUBLIC opinion polls are becoming commonplace in American life. Their use, and possible abuse, need to be understood by all students. Moreover, they may even have a use in school affairs.

A study of polls was introduced in one twelfth-year class in American Problems in terms of an imaginary, but entirely plausible, issue arising in a high school. The members of the class were asked to bring their experience and intelligence to bear on several specific questions related to the school situation and problems that are described.

SUPPOSE that an important question in your school was: How should assembly programs be managed? The faculty committee which formerly had attended to this matter decided that the students should take over a larger measure of responsibility for the programs. Therefore the principal submitted the issue to the Student Council for discussion and decision.

Immediately public opinion on this issue began to be formed and expressed both inside and outside the Council meetings. The secretary of the Council wrote into the minutes the different suggestions that members presented at the meeting. Among these were: each homeroom should be responsible for one program a year; the Council should appoint an assembly committee; each club should arrange a program; the faculty should continue to exercise most of the authority.

The school newspaper came out with a strong editorial favoring election of program chairmen. Several homerooms held lively debates upon possible courses of action. One prominent musician

in the school was heard to remark to his orchestra mates that the programs were rotten anyway and he didn't care who ran them. A student monitor said that everybody knew the Council would make a mess of it; anyone with a grain of sense in his head would realize that the principal could suggest a good committee to see that the work was done efficiently. A "big shot" football player cornered his council representative and said, "We don't care what the other programs are like, but you better arrange plenty of good athletic assemblies or we will make it hot for you." The Dramatic Club got up a petition asking that four programs a year be devoted to plays.

The class was asked to react to the following questions:

Evaluate each of the suggestions in the light of what you consider democratic procedures. In a democracy should all kinds of officials be elected?

How is public opinion expressed in your school? Why do some people exert more influence than others over public opinion in your school?

Are there pressure groups in your school? How do they work? Do some groups work for the interests of the whole student body? Do some groups work only for their own good?

Does a similar situation prevail in the government of your community? of your nation?

THE executive committee of the Council met with the faculty advisor to decide upon some course of action. The faculty advisor asked them what plan of arranging the programs the majority of the students favored. Several representatives ventured ideas, but they could reach no decision because they had no actual facts on which to base their opinions. This raised the question of how to discover the division of opinion throughout the school.

One member of the executive committee suggested a mass meeting after school. Many objections were raised to this procedure. Many students had jobs after school, some had appointments, and others attended athletic practice. In addition to this, many students were too indif-

School life and problems, as this article by the curriculum coordinator in the Lockport, New York, Public Schools again reminds us, offer many opportunities for study and application of civic problems. Polls of student opinion can both meet immediate needs and develop basic concepts.

ferent to attend, others would come from mere curiosity, and it would be difficult to count the votes in so large a group. "Besides," suggested one member, "they would be in a hurry and just vote any old thing without thinking. The idea that was presented in the best manner would win." So the committee rejected that method of settlement.

Again the class was asked:

Why do many students take no interest in school affairs? What factors influence students to vote as they do on school issues?

Do similar factors influence adult voters? Why is it also difficult for government representatives to find out what their constituents think about public issues?

A plan for voting by homerooms had few supporters because the council members pointed out that the homeroom leaders would influence the voters and some homerooms had scheduled other business during the period. Someone suggested a questionnaire, a mimeographed form on which each student could mark his choice. The faculty advisor asked the committee what proportion of the students would be likely to return the questionnaires. This suggested the possibility that many would lose them, forget about them, or throw them away because of indifference. However, this did seem to be the best suggestion so far.

One member then remarked, "If we could just ask each student personally in an impartial manner and take down his answer, then we would really know what the total student opinion is. But, of course, that is impossible because it would take too much work."

PLANNING A SCHOOL POLL

THEN the president of the group presented an idea. Why not take a survey like the Gallup Poll? Some of the members were uncertain as to what that meant. With the help of the faculty member they came to understand what a poll is and how it operates.

What a poll is. A poll means a count of heads. When it is difficult to count or tabulate the opinions of a large number of people, you may wish instead to get a sample. When you try a sample of hand lotion you assume that the sample is the same as the contents of a large bottle. You consider that you are judging the quality of both the sample and the regular article because you take it for granted that the two have the same ingredients in the same proportion. In sampling opinions you want the sample to be like the whole. You have to decide whom to question; that is, how to pick out the few pupils who shall

constitute a sample for the whole student group. A real sample of the student body is a small number who present the same views that the total population of the school has. An adequate sample would be made up of types of people from the student body in the same proportion as they exist throughout the whole school. This would provide a proper mixture of ingredients for your sample.

Picking the sample. What factors would you need to take into account in mixing the ingredients for your sample of student opinion? That depends somewhat on the issue that you intend to ask them about. If you wished to know what the student body thought about the price that should be charged for school dances, you would not ask only pupils from wealthy families. Their opinion would not be representative of the whole school population.

In some questions the locations of the pupils' homes might make a difference. You might need to be careful to get a proper proportion of students who lived in walking distance of the building and of those who had to come on buses.

The class discussed the question:

Would either of these two factors affect opinions on the management of student assemblies?

In most school issues grade level is one factor to take into account. The pupils in all grades would be affected by the outcome. Therefore you might conclude that each grade should be represented in the sample according to its size in the whole school population. If you went to the office in your school, you could find out the number of students in each grade.

Another factor might be the number of each sex. Boys and girls might tend to prefer different types of assemblies and therefore would be concerned in how the programs are managed. From the figures available in the office you could find out how your school population is divided in this way also.

If you decided to interview about 10 per cent of the student body you could work out a proper proportion for your sample. This is the way it worked out in one school, using round numbers.

Grade	Total boys	Number polled	Total girls	Number polled
10	300	30	285	29
11	275	28	270	27
12	205	21	215	22

The next problem is how to pick the 30 tenth-grade boys, the 29 tenth-grade girls, and so on. You must pick them at random or by chance

so that you get any 30 typical tenth-grade boys. You don't want them all to be athletes, or choral singers, or commercial department majors, or rural pupils. If there are alphabetical lists of boys and girls you could check every tenth name to be used for the interview. If not, you might decide to station your interviewers in the main corridor just before school to stop the first 30 sophomore boys who come along, and so on.

Stating the question. The questions to be asked in a survey must be stated simply and definitely so that there can be no misunderstanding about the meaning. In order to be sure about this, you should try out your questions on a few people to see whether they consider them clear and to see whether you are getting the type of information that you want. This does not mean to state the question so that you get the answer that you favor, but rather, to state it in such a way that all opinions will be expressed fairly. You have heard of the man who was asked, "Did you beat your wife more severely last night than the night before? Answer yes or no."

The question should be worded in such a way as to give the person the fairest possible chance to express his opinion. Try several ways of forming a question on the management of assembly programs. Would you want to suggest several alternative answers or would you prefer any answer that occurs to the pupils?

Training the interviewers. The people chosen to do the questioning need definite suggestions as to how to act. For instance, in order to get cooperation they should have a firm and pleasant manner.

The class was asked to consider the points involved:

Discuss the points that you think interviewers should remember and make a class summary of them on the blackboard.

The need for impartiality and some uniformity in approach was obvious.

Tabulating results and interpreting them.

When you completed the interviews, you would want to count the results and let people know what you found out. One good way to do this is to make a table showing what per cent of each group responded in each way. If you have asked a question to which you got a great many different answers, this tabulation may not show a large plurality for any one answer. You might get a wide scattering of the answers. If your question had only two possible answers, you would find a majority for one or the other.

When you had completed the table of results you could turn them over to the responsible group, in this case the Student Council, who could use them in making a decision on the issue.

SOME LATER APPLICATIONS

MISS MARIE MURPHY, the teacher who used the imaginary account in her twelfth grade class, reported that the group has had occasion to take several polls during the year. Their first venture was to poll a sample of the senior class on a school issue. In another instance a poll on the national election was conducted by a student committee. This involved sampling the whole school. Interestingly enough, the results in the school sample coincided closely with later results in the community, which suggests a trend in political thinking among high school students. Later a survey was used as an introductory activity for a unit on labor-management relations. The students in this case sought to determine the proportion of parents who are private owners of businesses, members of industrial management, and industrial laborers. Findings of this poll were used in discussing the evident absence of clear-cut class lines in America.

This teacher felt that the study of polling techniques had made the pupils increasingly aware of public opinion—its formation and measurement.

Selling Social Studies via Radio

Glenda L. Liddell

IN NO other subject of the elementary curriculum has there been as much change and difference of viewpoint during these last few years as in the field of social studies. All over our nation, curriculum groups are busy formulating, reconstructing, and revising courses of study to meet the many demands of a constantly changing and rapidly moving world. In an effort to answer some of these needs, a new curriculum was introduced in Kern County, California, at the beginning of this school year.

As the county is large in area and in the number of its schools, teachers, and pupils, a plan was necessary for inaugurating and making the program effective. This plan included the use of such procedures as county institutes, teacher workshops, demonstrations, and curriculum bulletins.

BROADCASTS TO THE PUBLIC

IT WAS felt, furthermore, that parents and members of the community should share in the understanding of the objectives and philosophy of the new program. One effective technique employed in presenting these philosophies and aims was the use of the local radio broadcasting station. During a series of four 15-minute broadcasts, all the various school subjects were discussed. The following is the broadcast concerning the social studies, as it explored some prevalent questions that parents and teachers have been asking. The County Social Studies Supervisor was assisted in its presentation by a county school teacher, and a pupil of the seventh grade of the same school.

Supervisor: In this upset and chaotic world of ours today, questions and doubts as to man's ability to live wisely and efficiently are constant challenges. We hear such apprehensive questions as: Is it possible to produce intelligent citizens

who will feel a civic duty to carry their knowledge into effective action? Will people ever be able to solve their problems satisfactorily? Will we, who are all members of the great human race, ever come to a common understanding and appreciation of one another?

On examining these problems we feel hopeless and futile in winning our struggle for a higher standard of social living. But *have* we failed? Let us look to our American children. In them we lose our sense of hopelessness, for in these boys and girls is our better tomorrow and it becomes the privilege and duty of parents and educators to help them to secure it.

The poor broken bodies of our young soldiers who die on far-away battle fields cannot guarantee a world dedicated to peace and democracy. Keen minds and willing hands of our youngest generation—those who live—can direct and guide it.

So let us take stock and ask, "What kind of a world are we preparing our children for? What is being done in our schools *now* to meet the needs of education for world citizenship as well as for the development of each individual's emotional, physical, and social maturity?" For if our children are to become effective, thoughtful, and tolerant members of this world in which they live, if they are to attack intelligently problems of the present and of the future, our schools must provide social studies experiences which will be continuous, worthwhile, and capable of insuring depth of social understanding.

Mrs. Caroline MacDonald, sixth grade teacher of the Lakeside School, and Alberta Chase, a seventh grade pupil of this school, will help us in this discussion. Mrs. MacDonald, what do your friends and neighbors ask you about social studies?

Teacher: Well, I think that the very term social studies is sometimes confusing. I am often asked, "just what is social studies?"

Supervisor: What does it mean to you, as a teacher? What are you trying to do during your social studies period at school?

Teacher: First, I always ask myself, "Am I helping these children to become intelligent citizens?" And then, "Are these boys and girls learn-

This report of a radio broadcast to parents and the public reflects several influences that have been modifying the social studies in elementary schools. The author is county supervisor for social studies and science in Kern County, California.

ing and using social skills in their group living—here in their schoolroom, the playground, at home, in their community?" To me, this is social studies.

Supervisor: Alberta, what does social studies at school mean to you?

Student: It means to learn about our country and other countries. We find that Indians, Spaniards, and people in different parts of the United States are just like us. They have work to do, they have homes to live in, and while our clothes are different from theirs, still they need clothes the same as we do.

Supervisor: In other words, we might summarize, by saying that social studies is concerned with gaining an understanding and appreciation of our many relationships with people, together with an intelligent participation in improving or bettering those human relationships. For example, children as well as adults need to be concerned with increasing and bettering our supply of food, clothing, shelter, recreation. They need experiences in governing themselves in and out of school. Through such social activities children are constantly learning to apply their knowledge for the betterment of human society, which is their due share and responsibility as young citizens.

Teacher: In fact, I think we can say that social studies is just what the term implies—a study in social living. It seems to me that everything we do, every experience, every relationship, is a social one, whether it is studying, playing, or working. Social studies should provide those activities in which the teacher can help the child to develop in his understanding and application of his responsibilities in relation to his family, his school group, adults, and institutions. But many people ask if our schools are teaching such subjects as history, geography, and civics.

Supervisor: Let's ask Alberta about that. We haven't given her much of a chance. Alberta, what do you think? Do you feel that you're missing out on, say, history and geography?

Student: I don't think so. Because we always go back and study about people long ago, just as we did last year when we were studying about the United States. Isn't that history?

Supervisor: Certainly. Have you studied any geography recently?

Student: Yes, right now, I have charge of the committee which is to report about the location and size of Australia.

Supervisor: Do you think that's social studies, too?

Student: I think that's a part of social studies.

Teacher: Miss Liddell, will you give us a picture of the social studies program as organized for Kern County Schools and as presented in our new curriculum chart?

Supervisor: This program is outlined by grades with suggested topics, units, or subjects for each grade. They are within certain themes or areas of experience judged suitable for the child's development—his interests and needs.

Teacher: Can you explain that a little more?

Supervisor: In a child's growth from infancy to maturity, his understanding and ability to adjust to a world of nature and people is constantly growing and expanding. His concepts in the primary grades are drawn from his world about him—his family, his home, his school, his pets, and so on. As he grows older, he wants to participate in experiences concerning a more remote world—his state, his United States, until in the upper grades, his ability is strengthened to the point where he considers and explores the far removed corners of the earth. He is able, to think from now back to yesterday, and from now forward to tomorrow and the future.

For these reasons, our curriculum provides for studies, beginning with the first grade, concerning the home and school; in the second grade, community helpers; in the third grade, our community; in the fourth grade, our county; in the fifth grade, our state, California; in the sixth grade, our United States; in the seventh grade, our world; and in the eighth grade, our democratic government and our problems in relation to everyday living.

MRS. MACDONALD, you are a mother as well as a teacher. In the school work of your own girls, have you observed that they gain from the social studies, facts, dates, etc., *only*? Have you noticed important skills and attitudes that you feel were a result of their social studies?

Teacher: I believe a good balance has been maintained between both skills and information. Certainly my daughters have learned useful facts and figures! In addition, they have a very real and vital interest in current problems. They are independent in their ability to think and evaluate for themselves. I know, too, they are far from being hasty in forming opinions without enough evidence. Wouldn't you think these are desirable social acquisitions?

Supervisor: Indeed I do. Alberta, do you have something on your mind?

Student: I just wanted to say—we do all kinds of things in our social studies class. We've been studying about Pacific Friends. Yesterday, Miss

Park helped us to use the encyclopedia and our *World Book*. She said she's going to help us make outlines when we finish our reading.

Supervisor: Have you been using a geography book, Alberta?

Student: Oh yes, and we've been locating the Pacific islands on our globe and world map. We've been reading in the newspapers about the geography of the land, too. I mean, about harbors and climate and tides and trade winds. Now, we're studying about the first people who settled in these islands.

Supervisor: In other words, Mrs. MacDonald, wouldn't you agree with me that Alberta is being provided a fine social studies program?

Teacher: It certainly sounds as though she's getting the use of some good reading skills together with historical and geographical background information regarding the Pacific islands.

Supervisor: Yes, Alberta, you have given us an excellent illustration of some of the things that social studies should be accomplishing—also a little idea of what we refer to as "integration."

AND now, in summarizing the purposes and meaning of social studies, suppose we have a quiz game. Do you two mind being the guinea pigs while I'll be the quizzer?

Student: Sounds like fun!

Supervisor: Alberta, what is social studies?

Student: Social studies? In my room, it begins with our questions about things and people we want to know about. Then we work them out together. Sometimes it's a science or an art lesson. Sometimes, it's reading, telling, or writing about the question.

Supervisor: Mrs. MacDonald, why do we teach social studies?

Teacher: Why? We teach social studies so that boys and girls will learn to live together most effectively in a democratic way today and tomorrow.

Supervisor: Alberta mentioned questions—what are some of the social skills that our children are being taught in order that they may more effectively answer and solve these questions or problems?

Teacher: There are many social skills—such as opportunities for planning, carrying out plans, and evaluating them; for being a committee chairman; sharing ideas and tools; using simple rules of courtesy; and using sources of information as maps, graphs, indexes, and resources of the community.

Supervisor: Could you say that developing these skills makes activities?

Teacher: Certainly, for whenever learning is taking place, there must be activity. We've known for a long time that learning is the result of "doing." Isn't that true?

Supervisor: Yes, indeed. The best educators for years have believed that real experience with many actual materials results in more effective learning and, as you have pointed out, there is no limit to such activities.

Alberta, can you tell us some other ways in which you are learning social skills other than just in your social studies work? I'll give you a little help. Do you have student clubs—and—

Student: Oh yes, we have clubs in sketching, sewing, journalism, and safety. We have assembly programs, room programs and a student-body government organization. Yes, and we've learned a lot in our work for the war effort—like our stamp and bond drives, our Red Cross work, and saving-paper projects.

Supervisor: I believe, Mrs. MacDonald and Alberta, that between us we have given a picture of the meaning of social studies, its aims, and some illustrations of it in action. And, just as students at the Lakeside School are taking part in worthwhile social studies activities, so are all of our Kern County schools working toward these common goals.

Notes and News

Middle States Council

The annual spring meeting of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies, which had been scheduled for Baltimore on April 27-28, has been cancelled in accordance with Government policy restricting conventions.

New England Association

The New England Association of Social Studies Teachers met jointly with the Harvard Teachers Association in Cambridge on March 23 and 24. At the afternoon session on the 23rd, chaired by Elsie Whitney of the Dorchester High School for Girls, Carl J. Friedrich of Harvard spoke on "The Changing Pattern of Government." Mrs. E. W. Anderson of the Buckingham School was the chairman of the dinner meeting which was addressed by Hugo W. Babb of Boston University on the topic "The Russian Experiment in Government."

Elgie Clucas of the Brookline Schools was chairman of the first session on the 24th at which John J. Mahoney of Boston University spoke on "Citizenship Training in the Elementary School." The second session was chaired by Mildred P. Ellis, President of the New England Association of Social Studies Teachers. At this meeting Robert F. Bradford, Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts spoke on "Pressure Groups in American Politics."

North Carolina Council

The North Carolina Council for the Social Studies issued its first number of *The Bulletin* in March. This official publication of the Council sets forth the organization, objectives, and the progress of the Council. An article entitled "Resources for the Teaching of North Carolina," describes a course of study for the eighth grade with North Carolina as the center of interest. The program for this grade includes not only a study of the state's history, but also a study of its land and people, its homes and schools, its agriculture and industry, its music, arts, and crafts, its needs and possibilities, and its place in the South and the nation. An extensive list of materials for such a broad and rich program of instruction is given which is largely confined to materials for use by the pupils themselves.

The officers of the Council are Mrs. Helen L. Macon, Chapel Hill, chairman; Ruth Privott, Edenton, vice-chairman; Gordon Blackwell, Chapel Hill, executive secretary; and A. K. King, University of North Carolina, editor.

Bretton Woods

The following references on the Bretton Woods Conference contain material presenting arguments for and against the proposals drafted at that conference. All of this material is available free on request. Available from the U. S. Treasury Department, Washington 25, are *The Bretton Woods Proposals*; *Questions and Answers on the Fund and Bank*; *President's Message to Congress on Bretton Woods*; *Bretton Woods and Foreign Trade*; and *Bretton Woods Plan to Prevent International Financial Chaos*. *The Bretton Woods Proposals*, a negative treatment, may be obtained from the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington; another negative treatment, *Practical International Financial Organization*, from the American Bankers Association, 22 East 40th Street, New York; and a third, *The Bretton Woods Agreements*, from the Independent Bankers Association, Sauk Center, Minnesota.

Recommendations of Economists for United States Approval of the Bretton Woods Monetary Agreements, a favorable statement, is available from the Economists Committee on Bretton Woods Conference, 234 Littauer Center, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

China

China: Revolutionary Changes in an Ancient Civilization, by Knight Biggerstaff of Cornell University, is Publication No. 4 in the Cornell University Curriculum Series in World History. In 78 pages it considers geographical influences, the Chinese people, the development of Chinese civilization, domestic and foreign relations, the slow emergence of a New China, and China in the present war and the postwar world. A selected bibliography, teachers' suggestions for organization, study, discussion, and activities, and a pronunciation table are included.

Previous publications in the series are *Canada* and *The British Commonwealth*, by F. G. Marcham; *The Far East and the United States*,

by Knight Biggerstaff, and *Latin America*, by C. C. Griffin. In preparation are *Southeast Asia*, by Lauriston Sharp, and *India* by F. G. Marcham. Single copies of *Latin America* cost 50 cents; of the others, 40 cents; discounts on larger orders.

Democratic Way Pamphlets

The Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship and the Canadian Association for Adult Education have published a series of nine pamphlets under the heading "The Democratic Way Pamphlets." The titles of those published in 1945 are *Democracy and the Political Party*, *How We Hold Our Elections*, and *Parliament the Lawmaker for Canada*. These pamphlets are priced at 10 cents each and may be obtained from the publisher at 166 Marlborough Avenue, Ottawa.

Diversity Within National Unity

The addresses given at the closing session of the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies in Cleveland have been printed for distribution in a 32-page bulletin, priced at 10 cents, entitled *Diversity Within National Unity*. The addresses contained in the bulletin are "Racial Diversity Within National Unity," by Carey McWilliams, "Religious Diversity Within National Unity," by Reverend George B. Ford, "Cultural Diversity Within National Unity," by Otto Klineberg, and "Human Dignity in the American Way of Life," by Howard E. Wilson.

Copies of this bulletin, together with a Department of State publication entitled *Dumbarton Oaks Documents* were mailed to all National Council members in March.

Intercultural Education

A series of nine mimeographed "Harvard Workshop Papers," prepared during the summer of 1944, is obtainable from the Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, at \$1.00. They include curriculum units on Negro employment, on "Diversity in Unity" (in the sociology area), and on "Let's All Be Americans" (Spanish-speaking people); papers on science teaching and art appreciation in developing intercultural understanding; an outline for study-discussion groups; and a selected bibliography on "A World of Many Peoples" for the elementary grades. The price of the set is \$1.00. The Workshop was sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Religion and Public Education

The proceedings of the Princeton Conference on Religion and Public Education, May 12-14, 1944, have been published by the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, at 75 cents a copy. A distinguished group of educators reviews historical backgrounds, needs, and American policies and practices.

Sloan Foundation Experiments

The Sloan Experiments in Applied Economics, sponsored by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, are described in the March issue of *Clearing House*. Harold F. Clark provides an editorial introduction, "Food, Clothing, Shelter"—on the effort to improve ways and standards of living by direct instruction in the schools. "Housing: the Sloan Experiments in Florida" is contributed by Clara M. Olson and H. E. Nutter; "Nutrition: the Sloan Experiment in Kentucky," by Maurice F. Seay; and "Clothing: the Sloan Experiment in Vermont," by Maurice Morrill. In each case curriculum changes, teaching materials, and pupil activities are described, and results in terms of behavior and accomplishments are tentatively evaluated.

Foreign Policy Reports

Recent issues of the *Foreign Policy Reports* issued by the Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, include "Congress and Foreign Policy," by Blair Bolles (January 15); "Eire—Its Neutrality and Post-War Prospects," by Gwendolen M. Carter (February 1); "The Chicago Civil Aviation Conference—with texts of Convention on International Civil Aviation and International Air Transport Agreement," by J. Parker Van Zandt (February 15); "United Nation Plans for Post-War Education," by C. Mildred Thompson (March 1); and "Britain's Search for Security," by Grant S. McClellan (March 15.) Each issue is 25 cents a copy; annual subscription, \$5.00.

Cram's Classroom Classics

"History Made and in the Making" is the theme of the first issue of a new booklet entitled *Cram's Classroom Classics* and published by the George F. Cram Company, Indianapolis 7. Two feature articles are "History in a World of Emergency," by T. D. Clark, and "The Use of Visual Aids in the Classroom," by W. E. Kettlekamp. This is the first of a series of four publications planned for 1945. Copies may be obtained free on request from the publisher.

Pamphlets and Government Publications

Leonard B. Irwin

Postwar Plans

After Victory, by Vera Micheles Dean (Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16. 25 cents) is a Headline Pamphlet which undertakes to answer a number of questions about world security as planned for by the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. To anyone who wants a good summary of the work of that historic gathering as a background for comprehending the discussion at San Francisco in April, this booklet will be useful. It will be particularly valuable for senior high school classes dealing with postwar planning.

The place of the public debt as a permanent and useful part of our social and economic system is discussed in *Public Debt and Taxation in the Postwar World*, by William Withers (League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3. 15 cents). The author describes the opposing points of view as to the function and possible limit of the national debt, and suggests that a National Planning Board be established to determine the amount of government spending needed to compensate for insufficient private investments. He says that "public debts will be productive if they promote needed investments which utilize excess savings. They constitute an essential balance wheel to the economic system made necessary by the failure of private capital to invest total savings."

Learning About—Education and the People's Peace (Educational Policies Commission, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6. 10 cents) is designed as a teachers' manual for introducing education as a vital factor in postwar planning and living. It provides teaching material on the plans for international education and its importance in maintaining peace. The pamphlet is organized into topics with textual matter and suggested class activities.

International Cartels and World Peace (Post War World Council, 112 East 19th Street, New York. 10 cents) is a 28-page condensation of the report of the Kilgore Committee on this subject. The dangers of cartels to national security are discussed, and a full analysis of the effect of such powerful economic organizations on world trade

is given. Anyone interested in modern economic problems will find the report well worth studying, for it provides an excellent summary of the topic.

The case against conscription in peacetime is the subject of quite an amount of recent writing. An important statement of the opposing arguments is *Compulsory Peacetime Military Training* (Educational Policies Commission, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6. 10 cents). The Commission divides the issue into two basic questions: Is the enactment at this time of compulsory peacetime military training necessary for national security? and, Is compulsory peacetime military training necessary or desirable in order to improve the education of the American people? In about a dozen pages the pamphlet marshals the evidence for the negative of both questions. The Commission sums up with the statement that as citizens they believe that conscription should not be used until it can be shown that national security can be obtained in no other way; and as educators they believe that better and more lasting educational results can be secured "more cheaply, effectively, and safely by other means that are readily accessible."

Another pamphlet which presents a vigorous statement against peacetime conscription is *The Case Against Compulsory Peacetime Military Training*, by Roscoe S. Conkling (Post War World Council, 112 East 19th Street, New York. 10 cents). This booklet strikes out at the military authorities and high-ranking officers who, it claims, have too strong a personal interest in the maintenance of a large peacetime military force with the consequent continuing need for many professional officers. It criticizes the technique which seeks to accomplish its aim under the support of wartime enthusiasm, and gives in detail a specific résumé of the campaign inaugurated by what the author terms the "army planners." The discussion is both lively and provocative, and forms probably the most interesting attack on the conscription proposal which has appeared in pamphlet form.

The April issue of *Social Science* is devoted to "Universal Compulsory Military Training in

Peacetime." Representative James Wadsworth and Professor Charles A. Ellwood are among the several contributors. Texts of the present bill and its predecessors are reprinted in the issue.

Current Public Problems

Some important aspects of the present-day and postwar agricultural problem is the subject of *Small Farm and Big Farm*, by Carey McWilliams (Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20. 10 cents). The author discusses the relative importance of large-scale and small-scale farming, and shows that the latter has many values to the country which the former does not have. He vigorously attacks the major farm organizations and pressure groups, which he says do not actually represent the great mass of farmers. He discusses the problem of farm labor and the difficulty of making the real farmers of the country articulate about their problem. In his summary he says that "our chief aim should be that of maintaining democracy in agriculture. What is important is not the size of the farm, but what happens to the people who work the land."

The need for better international understanding and for more tolerance in racial and minority-group relationships is almost a truism among educators. Yet far more must be done in the schools than is being done along these lines if a better world is to come out of this war. Teachers must be trained to think along these lines so that they in turn may transmit their thinking to their pupils. This fact is the thesis of an excellent pamphlet, *Education of Teachers for Improving Majority-Minority Relationships*, by Ambrose Caliver (Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25. 15 cents). This booklet is issued by the United States Office of Education, and its stated purposes are to assist in: "(1) indicating the extent to which teachers are given an opportunity to learn about our minority groups; (2) identifying, understanding, and helping to solve the problems arising in connection with these groups; and (3) promoting better relations between the majority and minority groups." To carry out the first of these, the catalogs of 262 colleges were studied to determine what courses were available to teachers which made specific reference to one or more of the minority groups under consideration, namely, Indians, Negroes, certain Latin Americans, and Far Easterners. The results of this study are given in detail. The second half of the booklet is devoted to a discussion of the importance of inter-

cultural education, and the methods by which teachers can forward it in their work. The whole pamphlet should be of considerable interest to social studies teachers who are concerned with the importance of teaching in a world whose horizons have become immeasurably broader.

The February 15 issue of *Social Action*, published by the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, at 15 cents a single copy, is concerned with interracial and intercultural problems. Hortense Powdermaker contributes "An Anthropologist Looks at Race Question," and several significant experiments are described.

First-hand information on Lend-Lease operations can be obtained from two pamphlets available from the Superintendent of Documents (Washington 25). They are the *Seventeenth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations*, which describes the reverse aid which we have received from Great Britain and her dominions; and the *Eighteenth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations*, which summarizes our own activities up to the end of 1944. Both booklets are surprisingly interesting reading, which cannot be said for most official reports, and the many tables of figures are illustrated by graphs and pictograms. These reports should be in school libraries available for reference, for they are well within the understanding of high school pupils, and provide excellent information on a very important phase of war activity and international cooperation.

The Story of Blue Cross, by Louis H. Pink (Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20. 10 cents) discusses a movement which the author describes as a "vital and democratic link in social security." He predicts that "it will play a very important role in the development of a healthier and happier America." Hospitalization insurance has come to mean much to many families, and this booklet describes the beginning and growth of the idea in its most familiar form. It should be of interest to a great many people, and will be useful in class discussions of social problems.

Social studies teachers who are concerned with developing library facilities in their schools will be interested in *School Libraries for Today and Tomorrow* (American Library Association, Chicago. \$1). This 43-page pamphlet provides sets of standards for libraries in elementary and secondary schools, dealing with housing, the library staff, library services, and the recommended size of book collections for schools of various enrollments.

Sight and Sound in Social Studies

William H. Hartley

Motion Picture News

A series of 38 motion pictures and accompanying filmstrips have recently been released by the U. S. Office of Education (Division of Visual Aids, Washington 25) to aid in the training of students in vocational schools. The series has been hailed by teachers as a forward step in visual instruction because of the careful correlation between motion picture and filmstrip material. The motion picture presents the concepts which require motion to clarify them, and the filmstrip then presents the details which should be studied at length. This same combination could, with profit, be worked out in many of the phases of the social studies which need visual presentation.

The great emphasis on the value of an understanding of human growth and development has caused many teachers to look around for further material in this field. The Association for Childhood Education, the Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development, and the National Association of Supervisors of Student Teaching have joined together to bring out a list of *Films Interpreting Children and Youth, 1944-45*. Copies of this list may be ordered from the Association for Childhood Education, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6. Price, 15 cents.

A list of films giving labor's point of view is distributed by CIO Department of Research and Education, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6. *Union Hall Films* is an annotated guide of 32 pages and costs 10 cents per copy.

Recent 16-mm. Releases

British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

Second Freedom. 20 minutes, sound; loan. How social security works in Great Britain.

Castle Films, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

The Weasel. 20 minutes, sound, color; free. The making of an amphibious vehicle for the U. S. Army.

Wetlands. 10 minutes, sound; sale only. Review of the wetlands of the United States and their probable future.

Frith Films, Box 565, Hollywood 28, California.

The Lumberman. 20 minutes, sound; rental, apply. The work of felling trees and transporting them to the mills.

Paul Hoefer Productions, Suite 316, 9538 Brighton Way, Beverly Hills, California.

African Fauna. 10 minutes, sound; rental, apply. The wild beasts of the African veldts, forests, and rivers.

African Tribes. 20 minutes, sound; rental, apply. A visit to four African tribes.

U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

For Years to Come. 22 minutes, sound. On loan from local film agencies. The story of Spring Run Farm from harvest to harvest.

Universal Pictures Co., Rockefeller Center, New York.

World Without Borders. 20 minutes, sound; rental, apply. How aviation challenged and changed the fate of mankind.

Slidefilms

A free slidefilm and teachers manual on "Air Transportation . . . Jobs and You" is being distributed by Society for Visual Education, Inc., 100 East Ohio Street, Chicago 11. This film was made through the cooperation of the United Air Lines and explains the vocational opportunities in the field of aviation. The manual contains clear suggestions for opening up the topic of jobs in air transportation and suggests ways of stimulating reading and other activities. The filmstrip presents a series of well-chosen and usable pictures.

A series of 15 slidefilms on Central and South America is being offered by Stillfilm Inc., 8443 Melrose Avenue, Hollywood 46, California. A total of 600 picture panels and titles are included in this series, which retails at \$14.50.

Maps

A good buy is the War Department's bulletin, *Fundamentals of Military Map Reading* (Document PIT-401). Copies are 10 cents each from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington. Intended for the high school student participating in the pre-induction program, this bulletin will be found helpful in many classes.

Maps and globes for beginners in geography have been designed by Rand McNally and Co., 111 Eighth Avenue, New York 11. "The Beginner's Globe" contains a minimum of detail and is mounted on a wooden cradle to facilitate its use by pupils. "The Beginner's Wall Map

Series" is a set of six perspective views of a globe exactly as pupils see the globe itself in different positions. With this set of maps comes a map-symbol chart with interesting landscape drawings which illustrate the meanings of map symbols used on the globe and wall maps. There is also a simple world map in the homolographic projection which introduces the idea of a flat world map.

Intercultural Education

Material which aids in an understanding of the cultural groups which make up America is all too scarce. We especially welcome, therefore, the mimeographed material on *Sources of Instructional Material on Negroes* issued by the U. S. Office of Education, Washington 25. The list includes books, pamphlets, articles, radio scripts, transcriptions, films, plays, pictures, exhibits, and slides. It is a list well worth having.

A United Nations Study Kit, containing 23 colored poster-charts and 30 copies of pamphlets on the United Nations, costs \$3.50 postpaid from United Nations Information Office, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York 20.

Source Lists

Two valuable source lists of charts, exhibits, films, filmstrip, maps, pictures, publications, and recordings have just been published by the New Jersey State Teachers College, Upper Montclair. The first of these guides deals with *Consumer Education*. Under the headings "Consumer Economics," "The House and Its Equipment," "The Health of the Family," "Clothing and Its Care" are listed a large number of aids to learning with source, price, and description. This bulletin sells for 50 cents.

The second bulletin is titled *The People of America, Intercultural Education*. Here are listed a great variety of material on "Our Origins," "Our Beliefs," "Contributions to American Culture," "Toward Unity," "Music and Festivals." This list sells for 25 cents.

Radio Notes

Five-minute war savings radio scripts which may be used as "mock-broadcasts" during high school assembly programs, or over the school's public address system, or over local radio stations, may be obtained at no cost upon request to Education Section, War Finance Division, U. S. Treasury Department, Washington 25. These scripts give complete production directions including sound effects and are, for the most part,

short dramatic sketches which will appeal to high school audiences.

NBC now presents a weekly broadcast series entitled "Our Foreign Policy" each Saturday from 7:00-7:30 P.M., EWT. This program presents the viewpoints held by members of the State Department, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the House Foreign Affairs Committee on such topics as the Dumbarton Oaks proposal, relief and rehabilitation, education, aviation, international labor, agricultural and financial problems of the United Nations.

"Music In American Cities," an NBC University of the Air Series, has now entered its second semester of the current year. Heard from 11:30-12:00 midnight, EWT, the current programs deal with the music of such cities as Cincinnati, Boston, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and New York.

"The Land Is Bright," CBS programs dealing with various phases of American history, is good listening. Tune in Saturday from 3:00-3:30 P.M., EWT.

A motion picture describing the educational broadcasting activities of the British Broadcasting Company, titled *Lessons From the Air*, is obtainable on loan from British Information Services, 360 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 1. This is an interesting and stimulating account of the use of radio as an educational medium in England.

The FCC has granted education twenty Frequency Modulation channels for the development of postwar educational radio. This is five more channels than were originally requested and means a great lift for education via the airwaves. The U. S. Office of Education estimates that 800 educational radio stations will make use of these facilities.

A series of weekly 15-minute talks titled "Problems of the Peace," by Lyman Bryson, director of postwar studies and educational broadcasts for the Columbia Broadcasting System, began March 25 at 1:30 P.M., EWT. Questions to be discussed by Mr. Bryson will be selected as need arises for enlightened public opinion in their solution.

Recordings

"Open Letter on the Detroit Race Riot" is an unusual recording of a CBS broadcast dealing realistically with mob psychology. Copies of the recording may be borrowed from the Bureau for Intercultural Education, 119 West 57th Street, New York 19. The record is highly dramatic and charged with human emotions. The

students will need help in interpreting what they hear, but they certainly will react to the material if the teacher encourages a full discussion.

Among the new recordings available from United States Recording Co., 1121 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, are "Pan Americanism," a 15-minute program with addresses by the Director-General of the Pan American Union, the ambassador of Chile, and the ambassador of the Dominican Republic; "Return to Manila," the short-wave program in which General MacArthur returns the government of the Philippines to President Osmena; "Compulsory Peacetime Military Training," a debate between William G. Carr of the NEA and Lee Pennington of the American Legion. All recordings are on slow speed (33 $\frac{1}{3}$ r.p.m.) records which sell at \$5.00 each.

The Bureau of Audio-Visual Aids in Indiana University continues its classification and analysis of the "Lest We Forget" transcription series, a project first mentioned in these columns last January. Since that time several additional titles have been deposited with the Bureau by the Institute for Democratic Education, and are now incorporated into the Bureau's guide prepared to assist teachers in the selection and utilization of the 160 fifteen-minute programs which comprise the series. This guide printed as part of a regular supplement to the catalog of the Bureau of Audio-Visual Aids is available upon request to anyone interested in borrowing programs of the series from Indiana University or from any of the several other transcription libraries of the country designated by the Institute for Democratic Education as experimental loan centers. These programs, usable only with 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ r.p.m. equipment, have been heard during the last several years over commercial broadcasting stations, but are offered now at minimum rental rates to schools interested in dramatic presentations of topics in American history and government at the junior and senior high school levels.

And Write Your Congressman?

It has been a long, hard struggle to get textbook writers, publishers, and editors to include anything other than books in the lists of teaching aids available to schools. Just when it appeared

as though some progress was being made along this line and such aids as slides, films, and pictures were making their appearance in textbooks, the third assistant postmaster general comes up with a ruling which practically eliminates the listing of such aids in the future.

To obtain the low rate of postage, books properly enough are required to contain no advertising. Now the post office department has ruled that any reference to a specific film, or for that matter to any material other than a printed book, or to any pamphlets other than government publications, constitutes advertising. Automatically such mention bars the offending book from book rate postage and if mailed it must be sent as merchandise. Most publishers, if they are to live up to the letter of this ruling, will simply pass on the increased postage costs to the users of their texts, or they will eliminate the offending material. The result will be more expensive texts, or poorer texts, for a large number of publishers are eliminating any list which mentions anything other than books.

A letter to the Third Assistant Postmaster General, Post Office Department, Washington, telling him of the feeling of social studies teachers concerning this ruling may help to influence a revision of this ruling.

Helpful Articles

- Chew, Margaret S. "Map Making as a Junior High Elective," *Journal of Geography*, XLIV: 85-90, March, 1945. A map-making class which meets for a 45-minute period once each week to make a wide variety of maps.
- Cypher, Irene and Ramsey, Grace. "A Museum Inaugurates a Visual Aids Institute," *Educational Screen*, XXIV: 60-62, February, 1945. An account of an institute held at the American Museum of Natural History.
- Garland, John H. "Geography in the Global Air Age High School," *Journal of Geography*, XLIV: 99-105, March, 1945. A report of a radio interview on the effect of aviation on our concepts of geography.
- Large, Helen C. "Making Slides," *American Childhood*, XXX: 12-13, March, 1945. A fourth grade project in making slides for health.
- Linden, Kathryn. "The Audio-Visual Program of the East and West Association," *Educational Screen*, XXIV: 63-64, February, 1945. How films and other audio-visual materials are built into a large national program for international understanding.
- Ullin, Chet. "Still Pictures Tell a Story," *Nation's Schools*, XXXV: 52-54, March, 1945. Story of an experiment in setting up desirable pictures to teach fishing industry.

Book Reviews

LAND OF THE FREE: A SHORT HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By Homer Carey Hockett and Arthur Meier Schlesinger. New York: Macmillan, 1944. Pp. xxviii, 765. \$4.00.

Land of the Free is a one-volume textbook in American history, of which the first twenty-six chapters were written by Homer C. Hockett and the remainder, covering the years from 1865 to 1944, by Arthur M. Schlesinger. As the authors point out, "The present volume is based upon, but does not supersede," the two-volume *Political and Social Growth of the American People* (p. vi).

This book has every right to stand on its own merits as one of the best single-volume college textbooks on the market. The authors stated that they "tried to take their soundings in the deeper currents of American political and social development and to show the strength, direction and significance of the flow" (p. vi). The result is a highly compact chronological account of American history in which the authors have not hesitated to emphasize what they consider to be the outstanding developments in the growth of the United States.

In general, the title itself—*Land of the Free*—suggests the underlying pattern of the text. From the opening paragraph, in which the reader is asked to consider why we separated from Great Britain, to the chapter on the New Deal—an unusually clear analysis, by the way—the authors stress the people's struggle for self-government. "Only gradually did the public come to realize that, under modern conditions, unbridled freedom for the few threatened economic servitude for the many . . . [through] methods of competition akin to the ethics of the jungle" (p. 401); "Thoughtful people began to wonder how long democratic institutions could withstand the strain" (p. 407); "The drive for reform—the third of the 'three R's'—probably made the deepest impression upon the thoughtful voter, for these measures sought to cleanse the future of the ugly blots of the past" (p. 625).

The authors should also be commended, not only for treating American history as "a branch of world history" (p. vi), but for relating social, cultural, and intellectual developments to the main currents of American life. There are no

pages of mere cataloging. The changing role of the church is explained in terms of urbanism, immigration, social reform, Darwinism, and the "higher criticism" (pp. 426-428). "In every part of the land appeared young writers eager to record their varied impressions of a rural civilization fast disappearing before the standardizing blows of urbanism and industrialism" (p. 441). "These years also saw the rise of organized sport. As rural life steadily receded into the background, as normal outlets for physical exertion grew less, as more and more people slaved long hours in office and factory, some form of outdoor diversion become indispensable" (p. 446).

Another strong feature of the volume is its clear organization and terse style. The pointed quotation and the pithy statement have been used to great advantage, particularly in the second half of the book. "Since historical research has denied to Americans the credit of devising the log cabin, the skyscraper stands as the nation's unique architectural gift to the world" (p. 445); "The farmer, toiling 'from day break to back-break'" (p. 451); "the caustic comment of the New York *Evening Post*, 'we don't want any more states until we can civilize Kansas'" (p. 454); "those 'petitions in boots'" (p. 457).

It is refreshing to turn to the bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter. These notes direct attention not only to the standard reference works but also to the most recent monographic material. The index is unusually good. Although from the printer's point of view the illustrative material—pictures, tables, charts, and maps—is excellent, it leaves much to be desired as an aid to learning.

In this reviewer's opinion, the weakest section of the book is that which deals with the "Middle Period" of our history. Here the continuity of the account is broken by short chapters—for example, chapter XIV, "Slavery Becomes An Issue," contains only five pages—and the most significant developments do not stand out with that clarity which is characteristic of the rest of the volume.

In spite of these defects, of which the last mentioned is by no means a minor one, the volume should take its place as one of the best

of the college textbooks surveying American history.

LEWIS PAUL TODD

Danbury State Teachers College

AMERICAN HANDBOOK. Prepared by the Office of War Information. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1945. Pp. 508. \$3.75.

The Office of War Information has performed a useful service in making available to the general public in expanded form a manual originally prepared for use abroad. The volume is primarily a handbook of facts concerning American government, history, population, economic geography, public services, social institutions, and cultural life. Thanks to skillful selection and good literary style, the subject matter is lifted above the level of the average handbook. Its value abroad in providing reliable information about the United States is obvious; its value at home should also be very considerable, especially as a reference book for schools and for citizens in every walk of life.

The first ten chapters give a comprehensive description of the organization and operation of the government of the United States, with special attention to the multitude of war agencies. Two chapters on "domestic principles" and "foreign principles" include the more important documents setting forth national policy: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, the Monroe Doctrine, Wilson's Fourteen Points, the Declaration of the United Nations, the Atlantic Charter, and statements of policy issued from the several wartime conferences. A chapter is devoted to listing "memorable dates" in American history, the most useful part of the list being the detailed chronology of events since 1933.

There is a good chapter on the composition of the American population. The chapter on geography deals with the United States in terms of major sections. Raw materials are discussed from the standpoint of essential war supplies, and a chapter on conservation appropriately follows. Industry, finance and trade, labor, agriculture, transportation, power, and communications each are described as of today. There follow chapters on public health, medicine, housing, recreation, science, religion, education, literature, journalism, stage and screen, music and the drama, radio, and art and architecture. Although some might quarrel with the selection of material in

these chapters, the interpretations seem well-informed and unexceptionable. The volume concludes with a summary of "significant facts" about the United States, alphabetically arranged.

There are few maps, and those included are neither very effective nor well-reproduced. More and better maps would have added to the value of the book. The charts are effective, and there is an adequate index. The list price may prevent the wide circulation this handbook deserves. Perhaps a paper covered edition will be made available.

CARLTON C. QAULEY

Swarthmore College

AMERICA IN LITERATURE. Ed. by Tremaine McDowell. New York: Crofts, 1944. Pp. xii, 540. \$2.00.

This book should find a welcome place in many areas within the field of social studies. It fills a decided gap in Americana, especially at the secondary school level. Almost every area of American social life, as well as the major sections of the nation, finds representation in this anthology.

McDowell has rightly indicated, in the few pages devoted to comments, that in addition to the idea of liberty, two other ideas of crucial significance have been inextricably interwoven into the national tissue. American thought reveals a belief in the essential goodness of mankind together with an acceptance of the doctrine relative to the worth and dignity of the individual. The third American credo is that of progress. Dominating all is the quest for the cooperation of free men within the framework of a democratic society.

American bards from Philip Freneau through Whittier, Lowell, Whitman, Vachel Lindsay, Stephen Vincent Benét, Carl Sandburg, and Robert Frost have given eloquent expression to these basic ideas. Essayists such as Thomas Paine, Emerson, Thoreau, and Holmes brought penetrating insight to bear upon these American fundamentals. Revealing aspects of America's kaleidoscopic development have come from our novelists, short-story writers, and dramatists. With a fine perspective the editor has introduced a diversity of literature into a logically consistent framework of dominant themes.

The readings of this anthology were collected to document and explain American life. A sense of unity and meaning pervades the collection

because the editor has staked out those fields which have been of crucial significance in America's development, and which, it should be remarked, have given rise to most of the literature contained in the collection. Within the major themes—The States, Life, Liberty, Happiness, and The Nations—the editor has exercised a fine social and historical sensitivity by introducing pertinent and significant literature. It is gratifying to see the guiding hand of Walt Whitman throughout the anthology, for he stands out as the democratic seer who epitomized that which America represents.

HERBERT T. SCHUELKE

University of Chicago Laboratory School

LABOR IN AMERICA: THE AMERICAN WAY. By Harold U. Faulkner and Mark Starr. New York: Harper, 1944. Pp. xiii, 305. \$1.60.

This is a sympathetic presentation of the American labor movement intended for high school use. The joint authorship of the Dwight W. Morrow Professor of History at Smith College and the Educational Director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union serves to combine scholarship with labor union experience.

The introductory chapter, "Why Study Labor?" gives a general answer—"Labor organizations are now more than ever a part of modern society into which we must fit ourselves"—specific "reasons for unions," and a defense of union practices. Succeeding chapters, forming the major portion of the book, offer an excellent history of the labor movement in America. Four chapters trace this to the formation of the American Federation of Labor in the 1880's. Included is an interesting account of the Knights of Labor. Four more chapters bring the history to date: "The American Federation of Labor," "Opposition Without and Within," "Decline of Organized Labor After the First War," "Labor and the New Deal." The chapter on "Opposition" might be questioned, at least as to title, for it includes in its sweep various labor movements not included in the A. F. of L.: Socialists, Communists, Industrial Workers of the World, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the C.I.O.

The last two chapters present "The Structure and Function of Unions" and "Unions in Action." The former, besides explaining the often complex structure of national organizations of labor—the ILGWU is diagramed—in-

cludes sections on problems, finances, services. The latter diagrams grievance procedures, gives relations of labor unions with government, political parties, consumers, and citizenship ideals.

Pictures with their inscriptions add much, especially those showing constructive union activities. Each chapter has "suggested activities," and there is a chapter by chapter bibliography at the close of the text. The Appendix contains a digest of agreements between workers and management in the Dressmakers Union, lists of unions affiliated with A. F. of L. and C.I.O., and an index.

There are some weaknesses in organization due in part to occasional confusion between the historical narrative and description of current union developments; this is particularly true of the chapter mentioned above on "Opposition." The authors try to be fair but everything is viewed from the union standpoint, thus: "Unions realize that many benefits have come to workers through these welfare projects, particularly those which promote health. Nevertheless, they are suspicious of company welfare projects, believing that they are motivated by a desire to prevent the growth of unions." "Organized labor prefers higher wages rather than 'hand-outs' and believes that workers through their own organizations can more properly take care of their own welfare work." The authors also confine their interest to labor as organized in unions, and their major interest is the A. F. of L.

Questions addressed by high school students to labor union offices indicate that they are making serious study of organized labor. For young citizens and prospective—if not present—workers, this is a *must* topic in social studies teaching. It is, however, this reviewer's belief that (1) there is not room, considering the ever-increasing demands on an already crowded social studies program, for an entire course devoted to labor unions, and (2) a textbook should be neither pro-labor nor pro-management but attempt complete objectivity. He also believes that this book, sympathetic with labor but thoughtfully and intelligently written, should be a much used reference book, placed obviously and conveniently on the social studies library shelf, perhaps beside the pamphlets of the National Association of Manufacturers.

ROBERT I. ADRIANCE

East Orange High School
East Orange, New Jersey

THE AIRMAN'S ALMANAC. Edited by Francis Walton. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1945. Pp. 512. \$1.00.

This is the first issue of a factual aviation manual which, it may be hoped, will continue and expand in the years to come, for it is the most useful publication of its kind known to the reviewer. It may be described as a book of aviation facts useful to many persons from experts to laymen who from time to time need a handy volume to refresh their memories or to ascertain specific data. The almanac will be equally helpful to teacher and student for information or verification on aviation topics.

It is obviously not possible to itemize or adequately indicate the content of *The Airman's Almanac*. As a manual it is not completely adequate in every respect, but the editor and publishers are to be commended for their efforts in putting it on the market, particularly when much useful data is difficult to get or unavailable as a result of the war. It is of primary significance to users that the material is quite consistently international rather than national in character. Our own national accomplishments in aviation are extensive, but the utility of the almanac is much enhanced by its international data for comparative purposes.

Several sections will be of particular value, such as: Airlines of the World (pages 130-155); World in the Air (pages 202-229); Aviation Records (pages 298-312); and Chronology of Human Flight (pages 159-173). Many of the tables will prove useful compilation, in particular, U. S. Air Transport Services, International Air Travel and Airports. More tables would be helpful and it is to be hoped that, as statistics become more readily available, they will be added.

Considerable space has been devoted to the historical aspects of aviation both in narrative and documentary form. One may also point to several unusual sections such as: Famous Aviation Controversies; Aviation Law; Aviation Medicine; and Philately in Aviation.

The recognized difficulty in procuring foreign and domestic aeronautical statistics is sufficient excuse for most omissions and inadequacies which the user will note, but there is no excuse for the very inadequate index which occupies a scant thirteen pages of large print at the end of the volume. Such topical items as air cargo or cargo, air routes or routes, and many significant proper names do not appear at all; even certain of the subtitles used are not listed separately. This should be remedied quickly, for a manual's

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utility is drastically curtailed by a poor index. Our final critical comment might be made in the form of a question: What happened to the manufacturers of aircraft, national or international?

It will bear repeating that no other single source known to the reviewer contains so many answers to questions of aviation fact. This volume will settle many arguments and should find a prominent niche on public, private, and individual bookshelves.

RICHARD L. TUTHILL

New York, N.Y.

"FIRST WITH THE MOST" FORREST. By Robert Selph Henry. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1944. Pp. 558. \$4.00.

RANGER MOSBY. By Virgil Carrington Jones. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Pp. 347. \$3.50.

FIGHTING JOE HOOKER. By Walter H. Hebert. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1944. Pp. 365. \$3.50.

These three volumes of military biography represent as many types: Mr. Henry has written a

scholarly, detailed biography of a major military figure, one whose importance has grown with the years; Mr. Jones has written a fascinating account of a minor but colorful cavalry chieftain who would, today, be known as a guerrilla; Mr. Hebert's biography is as painstaking as is Mr. Henry's, but its subject is of much smaller stature, a man who was *almost* a good general. Such excellent books, each with its points of superiority, always command a wide public; but at a time when we recognize the relation between our security and our ability to find great military leadership, these books are especially significant.

Nathan Bedford Forrest was the most underrated, by his contemporaries, of all the Civil War leaders; he was never given a large command until the closing months of the war. He had been a slave trader, and was thus subject to much social ostracism; he had had no military training, and was thus looked down upon by the West Point graduates under whom he often served. Yet Generals Grant and Sherman recognized his great ability sooner than the Confederates—one of the interesting "ifs" of the Civil War is the question: could Forrest have stopped Sherman *if* he had been given supreme command in the West early in the war?—and for many years his campaigns have been studied in staff colleges all over the world. He demonstrated, in action, practically every type of offensive and defensive tactics known to military theorists.

Son of a pioneer blacksmith, Forrest was left fatherless at sixteen. He attended school no more than six months, yet before the war his aggressiveness and keenness of mind brought success in a variety of enterprises and a fortune of well over a million dollars. At forty he became a private in the Confederate army; when hostilities ended he was a lieutenant general. Bold in action—he was wounded three times and had twenty-nine horses shot under him—he knew the value of caution; profane in speech, he was yet deeply religious; callous, yet often sympathetic; "Old Bedford" was a legend before he died. He becomes alive and rides again in this fascinating biography, which is at once carefully written and interesting.

Virgil Carrington Jones is a newspaperman who grew up in the area in which, during much of the Civil War, a dashing Confederate partisan leader played havoc with Northern supplies and dispositions (of both men and minds). In *Ranger Mosby* he has described the career of John Singleton Mosby, lawyer, cavalry leader, and diplomat.

The major part of the book, as well as the most interesting, is devoted to the years in which Mosby operated in the rear of the Federal lines in that area of Virginia which lies East of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Mosby never commanded more than a few hundred men, and so Mr. Jones is justified in paying scant attention to tactics and strategy, or to the descriptions of the campaigns on the fringes of which Mosby operated as an elusive scout. Instead, he devotes his time to the almost unbelievable daring and imagination which were characteristic of Mosby's raids. The passage of years has not left many Northern veterans alive who stood sentry duty in "Mosby's Confederacy," but all of them to their dying breath must have remembered the dark dread with which they stood their posts, wondering if Mosby's men were riding their way. Mosby was a dramatic figure, a man whose importance to General Lee far outweighed the strength of his force, and Mr. Jones has done an outstanding job of recreating the man and the life he led.

"Fighting Joe" Hooker is usually remembered as one of the many unsuccessful generals who preceded Grant in command of the Army of the Potomac. Actually his other service during the Civil War was far more important than his few months at the head of the army. He was a vigorous and aggressive division leader, and a fairly successful corps commander, but he failed miserably and needlessly in his only battle as head of an army—at Chancellorsville. Mr. Hebert's biography is an excellent piece of work. The characterizations of Hooker are well and honestly done. The military analysis, whether of Hooker's own work or of the entire war, is careful and accurate. Well documented, equipped with excellent maps, it is a real contribution to the literature of the Civil War. If it lacks the interest and drama of the other two books it is because Hooker was a smaller man—a man who, all of his life, was in hot water with his associates; a man who nearly achieved success, but ended a failure.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

U. S. Coast Guard

ANDREA BARBARIGO: MERCHANT OF VENICE, 1418-1449. By Frederic C. Lane. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXII, No. 1. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1944. Pp. 224, xiv. \$2.25.

The modest title of this work disguises its real importance. It is the most instructive account of the actual processes of Venetian commerce of the fifteenth century now available in English, perhaps in any language. The life of this merchant, who began his business career a virtually penniless young man of eighteen and ended it as a "resident" merchant with interests in nearly all parts of the Venetian trading area, brought him into contact with practically all stages of Venetian business operation. The wider significance of these contacts is unfailingly pointed out by the author of this study, thus giving us not only the career of one merchant but a concretely illustrated account of the whole system of Venetian commerce. Having thus vividly illuminated the operation of commerce through the life of this individual, the author briefly traces the fate of the accumulated fortune through four generations of descendants to reveal the social and political consequences of such trade as he describes. The period covered (1418-1538) thus affords us an insight into the most vital activity of the Venetian state across the apex of its prosperity.

The material for this study was obtained largely from original sources, much of it from packages of family business records unopened since they were first put away more than four hundred years ago. The interpretation of these records is enriched by the years of study which the author has made of Venetian economic history of the Renaissance period. This is another in the lengthening list of his publications which have made him a leading authority in this field. His studies take their place beside those of Genoese commerce by Byrne, Reynolds, Krueger, and others; and those of Florentine business by the group of scholars, among them the de Roovers, who are exploiting the Medici papers at Harvard. Together, these American scholars have made the most significant advance in our knowledge of the economic history of this period during the past generation; and their work gains added importance from the fact that the commercial development of the Italian city states of this period has served as the training school for the commercial policies of modern nations.

Teachers of history both in college and the secondary school will find this work especially valuable for the great amount of concrete illustrations which it affords. The relation of the merchant to the governments, the shifting relations between government regulation and private enterprise, the mingled trust and suspicion

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A. C. KREY

University of Minnesota

SULEIMAN, THE MAGNIFICENT, 1520-1566. By Roger B. Merriman. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Pp. 325. \$3.50.

Written by one of the most popular Harvard professors of history, with many years of service in that institution, this biography of the greatest of Turkish sultans is interesting historical reading. Suleiman extended the Ottoman Empire beyond the confines of any contemporary empire, profoundly influenced the politics of western Europe, and with the exception of Oran and Tunis dominated the extensive strip of Mediterranean coast in Africa from the Nile almost to Gibraltar.

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Born 450 years ago, Suleiman (Solomon) never received, we are told, true appraisal from Christian scholars, though he was the power behind the Crescent in its opposition to the Cross. His conquest of Hungary, his alliance with the French, his unsuccessful attempt to destroy Spain and Charles V, even the fact that he died in Hungary during a major campaign, all would merit, it seems, an historical analysis from Christian writers.

Dr. Merriman acknowledges his debt to the scholarship of Archibald Cary Coolidge, who at his death left an excellent unfinished manuscript for completion and publication. Dr. Merriman saw fit to resort to much revision, and the result is an authentic portrayal of a Sultan who within one year after his accession opened up the Danube to conquest, massacred Hungarians, removed Serbians to Constantinople, in 1522 triumphantly entered Rhodes, and in 1526 laid waste Buda (Budapest) carrying home with him the celebrated Corvinus library as booty. He next besieged Vienna itself but failed to take the city, negotiated (1536) the unfortunate trading treaty (capitulations) with the French, and after periodic campaigns against Persia and spectacular ventures with an Ottoman naval program left his empire to an indolent son, after murdering some far more qualified to continue his successes.

Chapters are devoted to Suleiman's internal government, his court, his harem, and his favorites. Suleiman could be "magnificent"! His revenues were larger than those of any of his Christian contemporaries, we are told. Some of his foes found him less intolerant than the contemporary Austrian Hapsburgs. This is a well-documented book, but not too intricate for appreciative popular reading.

MELVILLE J. BOYER

Allentown High School
Allentown, Pennsylvania

THE WORLD IN TURMOIL, 1914-1944. By T. Walter Wallbank and Alastair M. Taylor. Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1944. Pp. xi, 290, \$1.75.

Professors Wallbank and Taylor indicate that they seek to present a "concise but world-wide contemporary history covering the beginning of the First World War, the war itself, the unsettled peace, the Second World War, and post-war planning." They have combined two earlier books: *Civilization—Past and Present*, Volume II (1942) and *Days of Decision* (1943).

Part One, entitled "From Sarajevo to Manchukuo," consists of five chapters, the first two of which give a standard historical account of the period 1870 to 1933. "New Patterns in Statecraft" is devoted to a consideration of Communism, Fascism, and National Socialism during the two decades after World War I. The fourth chapter deals with the "Counties of the Established Order" during the same years, while the concluding chapter summarizes the principal developments in India, China, Japan, and Oceania from 1900 to 1939. Part Two consists of four chapters treating the subject "Ordeal of Our Time." Some 70 pages sketch the high lights of World War II, while a similar amount of space is assigned to the home front and preparations for peace.

The point of view of the authors may be easily ascertained by noting their reactions to some of the international developments of the past 25 years. Thus they declare that in the Versailles Conference "vindictiveness and selfish national interests conspired from the beginning to defeat Wilsonian idealism" (p. 31). They indict the diplomats for their lack of success in removing the factors which led to World War I and for being unable to re-create "the relatively free world economy that had characterized business before 1914" (p. 61). They consider Russian Communism, Italian Fascism, and German Nazism to be the products of this twin failure. They declare that "the world was no more successful in its search for economic prosperity than it was in the quest for political security" (p. 32). They note that in the decades after World War I democracy became complacent, failed to "rectify many economic and social maladjustments," and permitted the rise of "aggressive ideologies bent upon its destruction" (p. 3). Liberalism failed in Germany because of the lack of consistent policy and because "the republic dealt too gently with its enemies, who utilized democratic privileges to get into power and, once in, destroyed the institutions which had allowed them to grow" (p. 82). The Japanese thrust at Pearl Harbor was not the result of the whimsy of the moment, but "the outcome of historical forces which for the past fifty years had been revolutionizing the entire structure of oriental civilization" (p. 121).

On the whole, the authors are disposed to be optimistic about the future. Whereas some critics are making gloomy predictions regarding Britain's postwar economy, Professors Wallbank and Taylor believe that catastrophe will be avoided by skillful handling of the "vast resources" to which the country has access. They point out that

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the British people are prepared to move "to the left (although not along Marxist lines), toward a cooperative international order, and toward a progressively cooperative economy" (p. 227). As for the transition of the world from war to peace, they admit that it may not be "painless" nor "entirely smooth." But they feel that the United Nations have recognized "the basic needs and problems" and have set in motion plans to take care of them. "Whether in the end these will amount to a people's peace depends, in the final analysis, on the people" (p. 264).

The authors, who are members of the faculty at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, evidently have a cosmopolitan background as well as a diversity of teaching experience. As a result, *The World in Turmoil* abounds in features which will appeal to teachers, students, and lay readers. Particularly outstanding is the illustrative material. Some readers will undoubtedly recognize several of the maps prepared by R. M. Chapin, Jr., as having appeared previously in *Time*. Other teaching aids include chronologies and introductory statements at the beginning of each chapter, summaries at the close of each chapter, a "Chart of Contemporary Events" covering the years 1870 to 1944, and a pronouncing index. The book is relatively well documented and contains considerable material which is otherwise available only in periodicals.

MAX P. ALLEN

Indiana University

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